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Educational, medical, and other services in rural areas have been undergoing a consolidation and centralization process to bring about more efficient operation. A research project sponsored by the United Methodist Church was designed to assess the position of the church as a decentralized unit in a small community relative to its leadership responsibility and its assumption of that responsibility within its community. This two-volume document contains 14 research studies designed to measure the economic and social structure of 3 small Indiana communities. Demographic data are presented and methods of inquiry and measurement are explained. Appendices provide census data and examples of the instruments used in the study. (DK)

VOLUME I

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ANATOMY OF 20th CENTURY VILLAGE LIFE

ANATOMY OF
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Research Papers on the
Nature of Three Small
Indiana Communities

Edited by

Leroy C. Hodapp

and

William J. Gore

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

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To

LLOYD M. WRIGHT and **DONALD O. BOES**,

Methodist ministers in Clay County,
without whose commitment and love of
people - parishioners, members of the
community, and students - the research
reported in this volume could not have
been accomplished.

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FORWARD

Probably more than any other institution in modern society, the United Methodist Church has bases of operation in small communities all across America. No other church organization has diversified its local congregations across so broad a spectrum. At the same time, secular institutions, which originally functioned in these small places have entered into a process of consolidation and centralization.

The small general store has given way to the metropolitan supermarket; the isolated office of the general practitioner of medicine has moved into a clinic for regional specialists; the little one-room schoolhouse has been absorbed into a consolidated township structure for more efficient educational procedure. But in most areas of the nation, the tiny United Methodist Church still exists, struggling to maintain economic viability and often confused concerning its mission or purpose for existence.

In 1964, Dr. William N. Burton, then Superintendent of the Bloomington District of the Methodist Church, and Dr. William J. Gore, at that time a professor in the Government Department of Indiana University agreed to enter into a research project in an attempt to learn about the future of the church in the small community, of which southern Indiana possesses an abundance.

With the financial assistance of the General Board of Missions of the Methodist Church, graduate and under-graduate students from the Indiana Government Department were sent into a "Town-site", in Central Clay County, Indiana. The primary focus was upon the three small communities of Bowling Green, Cory and Center Point.

By the time I was appointed Superintendent of the Bloomington District, to suceed Dr. Burton, in September of 1965 the study was well under way. In the next two years, it grew so that the university created a special honors course for undergraduate upperclassmen specifically to work in the Town-site. Other faculty members in the Government Department devoted time and concern to the project. The Adult Education Extension Division of the University conducted seminars in the Cory and Center Point Communities. The Ecumenical Center for Renewal and Planning at Merom, Indiana, began to work with the local congregations in the town-site area: six Methodist churches, three Evangelical United Brethren churches, and a congregation of the United Church of Christ.

This two-volume publication is the result of the student research projects in the Town-site area. Although the papers are of primary concern to a specific community in central Clay County as it attempts to determine its own future, they also point to a process which is open to other communities which are floundering in lack of direction and self-identity.

These papers should stimulate in some special way the imagination of church leaders, both local pastors and denominational executives. One of the basic premises of this research contends that a parish church cannot exist apart from its community: the church cannot grow if the community does not thrive, and the church cannot be maintained if the community is dying. The church, therefore, MUST be concerned about the Community.

It is necessary, with this fact in mind, for the pastor to understand his community. Research such as this can further such an understanding. It is not suggested that the projects herein reported in any manner exhaust the possibilities of necessary knowledge. They simply are illustrative of what can be learned by this method. The students involved in the Town-site were largely free to determine their own research patterns. Such a vast ignorance existed about the factual nature of the area that any research was valuable.

Once the research begins, however, one project leads inevitably to another as direction is determined by the process itself. Probably another community would choose entirely different projects than those relevant to central Clay County. The important thing is that the process begin in many places.

No institution in contemporary society can long exist without some vital link with the university - the source of power in our modern culture. It has been demonstrated that research, such as described on these pages, provides that linkage for the church in a manner which is beneficial both to the church and to the university.

The church is enabled to learn about its field of ministry and mission, and thus to become a more effective agent in fulfilling its calling. The university is offered a cluster of gatekeepers, the local pastors, who effectively open the doors of their communities to the researchers, and keep them open in times of stress and tension which inevitably arise during the course of such a project. Thus, both institutions are enabled to operate more efficiently.

Most local pastors or church executives would delight in a ready-made method of determining such facts as: the economics of a community, in order to determine what form of church institution it can support; the educational possibilities - who wants to learn and who does not; the image which the community holds of the church, be it true or false; the broader extensions of the community in an urban culture; the influential persons in the community, and how they communicate with one another; how vital decisions are made in the community; the effectiveness of the church as a change-agent in the community.

These, and countless other pieces of information, are available to a group of research specialists. The university has these well-trained people, and they are quite willing to work with the church to discover knowledge which will further the human enterprise.

It is the hope of the editors of these papers that the church/university relationship will expand and deepen, as well as grow to include other institutions of society - government, private social agencies, and the business community. Together we may assume responsibility for our corporate future, and form a community which meets the social, economic and spiritual needs of all men.

Leroy C. Hodapp

July 30, 1968

INDIANA TOWN PROJECT

Some Demographic Characteristics

William Vanderbok

AGE, SEX, MARITAL STATUS

The first three descriptive variables at which we shall look are age, sex and marital status. In the total sample of 933 respondents the age distribution is bimodal and concentrated at the extremes, although when sub-classified by towns a few differences appear (Table 1).

TABLE 1

Date of Birth	N	Percent Total	Ashboro	Bowling Green	Centerpoint	Cory
Pre-1900	151	16	10	17	19	15
1900-09	110	12	13	14	10	11
1910-19	93	10	15	15	10	13
1920-29	119	13	15	13	11	13
1930-39	78	8	3	10	10	7
1940-43	35	4	3	3	3	6
1944-49	104	11	18	7	11	13
1950-54	88	9	9	10	8	11
1955---	155	16	13	20	19	12
N	933		91	261	298	283

Since all those below voting age have been eliminated from the cross-classifications made in this study, the percentages given in Table 1 do not accurately reflect the age distribution within our sample. This modified distribution is set forth in Table 2. (The chi square value is 27.652 with a C_{adj} of .237[1] and the x^2 value is significant at the .05 level.)

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[1] Throughout, the statistic C_{adj} will be reported rather than C, since C_{max} fluctuates with table size. C_{adj} can only achieve unity in a square table with similar marginals. However, most of the tables to be reported, like this one, are not square. C_{adj}, accordingly, has been computed conservatively by basing it on the C_{max} associated with the larger of the two possible square table sizes.

TABLE 2*

Date of Birth	N	Ashboro	Bowling Green	Center-point	Cory
Pre-1900	151	16	27	30	23
1900-09	110	22	22	17	17
1910-19	93	26	8	16	20
1920-29	119	26	22	18	20
1930-39	78	6	16	16	11
1940-43	35	6	5	4	9
N	586	55	161	187	183

*In per cent

The sex ratio in the field site is exactly even, though there is some difference by city in the full sample. The greatest difference, in Ashboro, is 55:45. This represents 9 out of 91 persons interviewed.

TABLE 3*

Sex	N	Ashboro	Bowling Green	Center-point	Cory
Total Sample					
Male	461	55	47	49	50
Female	472	45	53	51	50
N	933	91	261	298	283
Adult Sample					
Male	291	51	49	50	51
Female	290	49	51	50	49
N	580	55	101	187	183

*In per cent

There are 335 unmarried minors in the total sample and an additional 12 married individuals who are not yet of voting age and they have been excluded from data analysis. The vast majority of the adult sample is married, with very minor fluctuations among communities, though there is a consistant 9% widowed in each town (Table 4).

When the sample is broken down by the relationship between the respondent and the head of the household, one finds that slightly over half of the townsite inhabitants are household heads, with this ratio holding in the four towns. Between 51 and 56 per cent of all residents are household heads, and 38 to 41 per cent are wives, the remainder being children and other relatives.

TABLE 4*

Marital Status	N	Ashboro	Bowling Green	Center-point	Cory
Married	489	78	85	83	85
Widowed	53	9	9	9	9
Divorced/ Separated	10	4	2	1	2
Single	33	9	4	7	5
N	587	55	161	186	183

*In per cent

When a bivariate distribution is generated, plotting age against sex, one finds that men make up the younger age groups and women predominate in the older age groups. The sole exception to this generalization is in the age group, 56 to 65, where men predominate, and this is due to an anomoly in Cory. As might be expected, the older a person is, the more likely he is to be the head of a household.[2] Similarly, the older a person is, the more likely he is to be married, widowed or divorced, although there is a curious bimodal distribution for single people located at the two age extremes. Seventy-seven per cent of the adult sample has been married by age 25, and a consistent 4 to 5 per cent remain single after age 35.

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[2] In this case the x^2 value is significant at the .001 level, with C_{adj} .467.

INTRODUCTION TO SES

There are six types of infomation on each respondent which can be considered socia-economic in nature. These are: income, welfare income, urbanization score, social participation class, household conveniences score and socio-economic status.

The distribution of income is relatively constant in the four communities. After removing those individuals who receive no income at all, a single dominant income range emerges which has a pronounced skew towards the lower end (Table 5).

TABLE 5*

Income	N	Ashboro	Bowling Green	Center-point	Cory
No earnings	218	41	46	38	43
\$500-\$1999	35	6	6	9	5
\$2000-\$4999	55	7	13	12	8
\$5000-\$9999	93	19	15	17	21
\$10000-\$15000	92	20	14	18	19
Over \$15000	9	0	2	2	2
N	521	54	134	170	163

*In per cent

The other purely monitary measure, whether or not the respondent receives welfare income in any form, also shows a consistency among the communities. The extreme cases are Ashboro and Centerpoint, which have respectively 18% and 31% of their residents receiving social security, pensions, veteran's payments, unemployment insurance or welfare payments. However, such differences can quite easily occur by chance.

Combining the responses to several questions concerning the utilization of urban services a composite score termed "urbanization" has been calculated and then collapsed into three populated categories.

Utilization of the services of the larger city is relatively consistent among the total population. Between 83% and 93% of the residents of each of the towns fall into the same "urban" category, as opposed to only 6 people in the highest "very urban" class or the 6% to 17% in the "semi-urban" group.

Another composite score computed for the respondents of the townsite is the Chapin Scale of Social Participation. A "scoreclass relationship" was derived from mean scores of several occupational groups and then clustered into five groups. By towns, Bowling Green and Cory emerge at the extremes, that is, Cory has the largest percentage of individuals in the lowest category and Bowling Green the largest number in the highest participant category. From high to low, the number of respondents falling in each category were 78, 37, 64, 93 and 314 respectively.

The composite home conveniences score, which ranks respondents on a scale which reflects the material conditions of life, distributes the people all across its range, with a strong clustering at the upper end (Table 6).

TABLE 6*

Household Conveniences Score	N	Ashboro	Bowling Green	Center-point	Cory
1	33	11	6	8	2
2	10	7	2	2	0
3	18	0	5	2	4
4	25	x7	0	8	3
5	21	0	4	3	6
6	37	6	8	3	8
7	65	11	10	13	11
8	100	18	14	20	18
9	271	40	52	42	49
N	580	55	161	183	181

*In per cent.

The x^2 value of table 6 is 57.152, which is significant at the .001 level, and its C_{adj} is .317. Tau-C, however, is only .029.

A socio-economic status score has also been computed, using the Chapin Scale of Socio-Economic Status. More than any other scale thus far examined, a bell shaped distribution results. As can be expected, the middle classes dominate the range, with a few upper class and many lower class individuals. Unlike the other communities, Ashboro has no one in the upper class and a proportionately very large number of people in the lower classes (Table 7).

TABLE 7*

Social Class	N	Ashboro	Bowling Green	Center-point	Cory
Lower-lower	14	10	3	1	1
Upper-lower	99	20	17	16	19
Lower-middle	226	42	40	41	39
Upper-middle	171	28	27	33	32
Lower-Upper	43	0	10	8	8
Upper-upper	5	0	2	1	0
N	558	50	156	172	180

*In per cent. x^2= 25.616, which is significant at the .05 level. C_{adj} is .230, though Tau-C is only .039.

When sex is paired against the economic and status variables no noticeable pattern emerges, that is to say, in this respect the sexes have no differences between them. The sole exception to this is income levels. Men form well over half of the higher income group, and women form the bulk of the lower paid segment. When age is plotted against these same variables, the youngest group, those between 22 and 25, are lower in their social participation and socio-economic status scores than those of working age. Similarly, those over 65 are lower in their income, urbanization, social participation and home conveniences scores. Seventy-seven per cent of these people receive some form of welfare income.

Marital status also reflects a significant difference in life styles, with couples being better off than all other groups. Widowed individuals fall at the other end of the spectrum. Three out of five widowed individuals have no income (Table 8).

TABLE 8*

Income	N	Married	Widowed	Divorced/ Separated	Single
No earnings	217	41	60	11	33
\$000-\$499	35	6	6	11	15
\$500-\$1999	55	9	20	33	15
\$2000-\$4999	93	18	10	33	30
\$5000-\$9999	92	20	4	11	7
\$10000-\$15000	19	4	0	0	0
Over \$15000	9	2	0	0	0
N	520	434	50	9	27

*In per cent. $x^2 = 39.146$, which is significant at the .01 level. $C_{adj} = .285$.

Three-quarters of all widowed respondents receive some form of welfare payments. They also rank lowest on both the urbanization class and social participation scales. In addition, their home conveniences score is markedly lower than that of the other three groups. Fifty-nine per cent of the widowed have a home conveniences score of 7 or less, while 69% of the married respondents scored 8 or 9. A similar situation exists when socio-economic status scores are examined, though here the lowest group are the divorcees.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE MAJOR VARIABLES

The remaining variables on which data has been collected in the four communities can be grouped under five headings: education, religion, employment, geographic mobility and community participation. After a brief general review of each of these we shall turn to a more detailed consideration.

Education:

There are two noticeable cut-off points in the education of the residents of all four towns. As might be anticipated, they are after the completion of grammar school (25%) and high school (44%). Only 1% never attended school, and another 4% did not progress beyond the fourth grade. Fifteen per cent of the people have attended college, 8% graduated, and 5% have done graduate work of one kind or another. A clearly discernable trend exists indicating a rising level of education. Of those 65 and over, 80% did not finish high school, while 91% of those 22-25 have received their diplomas. Similarly, the younger the respondent, the higher the educational level of his parents (Table 9).

TABLE 9*

Highest Grade Finished	N	65 & over	56-65	46-55	36-45	26-35	22-25
Never attended	9	3	1	1	2	0	3
4th grade	29	12	2	3	2	0	0
8th grade	144	55	38	9	8	3	0
10th grade	60	12	8	18	6	9	6
12th grade	259	8	32	54	65	74	77
2 yrs. college	39	7	8	7	8	4	6
4 yrs. college	18	1	3	3	6	3	6
4^+ yrs. college	32	3	8	5	5	8	3
N	586	151	110	93	119	78	35

*In per cent. $x^2 = 253.810$, $C_{adj} = .585$.

When people were asked whether they would try to obtain more or less education "if they had it to do over again," 61% said that they would like more, 25% indicated contentment with what they had achieved, and

14% asserted that they had received too much formal education. When age is held constant, the youngest group, those between 22 and 25, is proportionately the least desirous of further educational attainment for themselves. Similarly, they have the least desire for high levels of education for their children. The same pattern holds when single individuals are asked to speculate about the most desirable educational level for their offspring. Thirty-one out of the 33 young people would not want their children to progress beyond the legal minimum, in sharp contrast to the hopes of married couples. On the other hand, one-third of all respondents do not want their children to go to school beyond the legal minimum age.

Religion:

The Methodist Church is the expressed preference of approximately 53% of the people in the communities, although there are differences within each of the towns. Eighty-two per cent of Ashboro and 62% of Cory expressed a preference for Methodism, while Bowling Green and Centerpoint were 42% and 43% respectively. The next largest group, 14%, were those who leaned towards the Evangelical United Bretherns. The United Church of Christ, Roman Catholic Church and Nazarene Church were next, each with only approximately 4% support. An additional 5% expressed no religious preference. In spite of this, however, 166 people, or 28%, belong to no church.

Employment:

Just over half of the respondents are employed in pursuits other than housework, and 53% of those who work do so in excess of 40 hours per week. Three out of five of those who are employed work within the immediate vicinity of their homes, while the remaining 40% travel more than 15 miles to their places of employment. The range of employment is very diversified, with no single occupation being predominant. Agriculture, manufacturing, clerical, teaching, etc., all claim approximately equal shares of the community's employment pattern. This represents a sharp break from the past, however, since 56% of the respondents' fathers were farmers. Within this same trend, 62% of the respondents expressed no particular preference or expectation concerning their son's occupation.

Geographic Mobility:

All but 157, 27%, of the respondents were born within the immediate vicinity. Similarly, all but 40% of their parents were locally born. One person in 20 has never lived in a different house, and the last home of all but 14% of the respondents was within 15 miles of their current one. On the other hand, when faced with the hypothetical question of where they would like to live if they could change residence, approximately 27% of the people responded that they would like to live at some distance from their current home, while only 40% specifically named one of the townsite cities. At least in part, this should raise doubts about the efficacy of the myth of the desirability of small town life by small town residents. Furthermore, there is no significant sex difference on this issue.

Education:

The level of a respondent's education is positively associated with all of the socio-economic indicators, i.e., income, urbanization class, social participation, home conveniences and socio-economic status score. Conversely, there is a slightly greater probability that parents with larger incomes will both desire and expect greater amounts of education for their children than parents of smaller incomes. The same relationship holds among all of the other socio-economic indicators to a greater or lesser degree.

When the interplay between religion and education is considered, several trends become evident. First, and probably related to the size of the church, Methodists dominate the upper educational levels. Twenty-six of the 32 respondents who have had post-graduate education are Methodists. Secondly, the higher the educational level, the more likely it becomes that a person will become a church member and also attend (Table 10). Also, there is a slight positive association between church attendance and desired high educational attainment of one's children.

TABLE 10*

Frequency	N	Never Attended	4th grade	8th grade	10th grade	12th grade	2 yrs. college	4 yrs. college	4+ yrs. college
Never	90	78	44	20	15	10	10	11	4
Now & Then	155	22	32	26	37	27	15	11	25
Fairly Often	76	0	4	14	13	13	13	17	16
Regularly	265	20	40	35	49	62	61	61	56

*In per sent. x^2 = 70.754, which is significant at the .001 level.
C_{adj} = .391.

There seems to be a very slight tendency for those persons with a higher education to have specific occupational goals in mind for their children, though 62% of all respondents stated that they didn't really care in what kind of work their offspring would be engaged. Passing over the very large and uncoded "other" category, the largest number of people, 35 or 6%, mentioned teaching, and 5% each mentioned agriculture and the ministry. In terms of expectations of what the children will do the same pattern holds, with a slight exception. Sixty-two per cent still have no expectations and 17% state "other" kinds of jobs, while agriculture leads the coded group with 35 nominations (6%), followed by teaching (31), manufacturing (17), construction and the ministry (15 each). This represents a continuing shift away from agricultural pursuits, since 52% reported that their fathers were last employed in agriculture. Similarly, the younger the respondent the more likely that his father's last or current job involves non-farm work.

As was mentioned earlier, 80 respondents stated that "if they had it to do over again," they would obtain less formal education. Two of the five ministers felt this way, and 11 of the 38 teachers (Table 11).

TABLE 11*

Occupation	N	Less Education	Same Education	More Education
Never worked	107	22	23	55
Agriculture	83	8	28	64
Manufacturing	57	14	30	56
Construction	20	0	20	80
Mining	24	17	29	54
Wholesale/Retail	42	7	17	76
Teaching	38	29	34	37
Ministry	5	40	60	0
Clerk or Secretary	49	4	35	61
Other	160	13	21	67
N	585	80	149	356

*In per cent. $x^2 = 43.649$, which is significant at the .001 level. $C_{adj} = .282$.

Religion:

Of 585 respondents, 166 do not belong to a church. Of this latter group, 45% expressed a Methodist religious preference. In other words, the Methodist Church membership contains only 3 out of every 4 people who have expressed a preference for it. The next largest group, the United Church of Christ, has enrolled 90% of its adherents (Table 12).

TABLE 12*

Membership	N	None	U.C.C.	Catholic	Other	Baptist	E.U.B.	Evan.	Christian	Lutheran	Methodist	Nazarene	Presbyterian
No	166	94	10	25	21	54	25	22	47	47	24	13	40
Yes	319									53	76	87	60
N	585	6	90	75	79	46	75	78	53	15	307	23	10

*In per cent. $x^2 = 93.021$, $C_{adj} = .382$ which is significant at the .001 level.

The particular religious preference of an individual apparently has little effect on the various indices of social and economic status except for those individuals who expressed support of no particular faith. The standings for these people on the urbanization scale, social participation class rank, home conveniences scale and socio-economic status score are somewhat lower than the population as a whole. However, church membership is irrelevant to one's position in terms of income, urbanization class and home conveniences score. On the social participation scale church members tend to rank higher, though this is probably a function of the scale's construction, since membeship regardless of participation increases one's score. All scales tend to give a slight, though, except for the case of social participation, statistically insignificantly, higher ranking to church members. In the composite socio-economic status score these various forces appear to come together to produce a noticeably higher position to those who belong to churches (Table 13).

TABLE 13*

Socio-economic Status	N	Non-church membership	Church membership
Lower-lower	14	4	2
Upper-lower	99	27	14
Lower-middle	225	43	39
Upper-middle	171	23	40
Lower-upper	43	3	10
Upper-upper	5	0	1

*In per cent. $x^2 = 25.399$, which is significant at the .001 level. $C_{adj} = .230$.

Church membership and attendance patterns are not related in any systematic fashion with employment type, desirability, or hours worked. Similarly, church membership, attendance and preference is unrelated to such variables as previous residence and most desired place to live.

Employment:

Slightly over half of all those who work reported that they put in over 40 hours per week. On this basis, ministers and teachers are the "hardest working" on the various occupations, since all the ministers and 21, or 78%, of the teachers work over 40 hours per week (Table 14).

Those individuals who work score higher on two of the social status measures-urbanization and social participation class - at a statistically significant level. There is no difference, however, on either the home conveniences or on the socio-economic status scales. Intuitively, this might be explained by the differences in income of the two groups. That is, it takes money in hand to score high on urbanization and participation scales. but accumulations earlier in life may allow persons to remain in their relative positions on the home conveniences and socio-economic plains. The absolute level of these differences, however, are very slight.

There are no particularly significant or interesting relationships between place of employment and the geographic mobility variable.

TABLE 14*

Occupation	N	1 to 14 hours	15 to 39 hours	40 hours	40+ hours
Never worked	12	41	25	17	17
Agriculture	60	10	17	15	58
Manufacturing	33	3	9	39	49
Construction	15	7	7	40	47
Mining	15	0	27	7	67
Wholesale/retail	30	10	13	13	63
Teaching	27	7	4	11	78
Ministry	4	0	0	0	100
Clerk or secretary	15	13	53	20	13
Other	105	8	21	24	48
N	316	28	56	66	166

*In per cent. x^2 = 65.734, which is significant at the .001 level. C_{adj} = .436.

Geographic Mobility:

Except for those instances which have been previously mentioned, the geographic mobility variables show no systematic fluctuations with any other variables, with one exception. Those individuals who lived 15 miles or further from their present home report that they would rather live at least 15 miles from where they are now. This is approximately three times more often than those whose last home was in the immediate vicinity of their place of work.

Participation in Voluntary Organizations:

There is one type of variable which has not yet been discussed,

the extent of participation in voluntary organizations (other than the church). In this vein, age, sex and marital status are all irrelevant to either membership in or attendance at meeting of voluntary organizations. In terms of office holding and the various social and economic indicators, without exception, the higher the score on these variables, the larger the number of offices held. However, because of the small number of people holding offices relative to the population, no supporting evidence will be offered. The situation is somewhat better when attendance at meeting of voluntary organizations and the various socio-economic scores are considered. Once again, in every case there is tendency for the higher scorers to attend the meeting of more groups than low scorers.
For example, see Table 15.

TABLE 15*

Urbanization Class	N	Number of meeting of different voluntary organizations attended. 0	1	2	3	4
Rural	0	0	0	0	0	0
Semi-rural	0	0	0	0	0	0
Semi-urban	74	24	7	10	5	0
Urban	453	76	92	88	91	94
Very Urban	6	0	1	2	5	6

*In per cent. $x^2 = 43.237$, which is significant at the .001 level. $C_{adj} = .306$.

Education level does not seem to play a significant role in determinig how many voluntary organizations an individual will participate in, though there is a moderately consistent bias in favor of higher participation on the part of those who have a higher level of education. Similarly, religious preference, membership, and attendance do not seem to affect participation in voluntary organizations, once the effect of church attendance is removed from the measure of participation. Neither the distance that an individual has to travel to work, nor the type of employment, nor the geographic mobility variables have effect on participation. In other words, none of the various variables except for those in the socio-economic class have any noticeable effect on the pattern of participation in voluntary organizations.

An Economic Base Study Of The Townsite

Nicholas Fattu 2

INTRODUCTION

The goal of an economic base study is an understanding of the sources, levels of income and employment in a community. To make this study, one needs to define the community to be studied (municipality, county, metropolitan area or some other geographic unit.) The boundaries of the community must be set to provide a clear distinction between the local community and what is to be defined as non-local. This is necessary because the community does not exist as an autonomous economic entity. Taking the United States as a whole, there would be no internal distinction between local and non-local regions.

Once this definition has been made the economic base concept suggests dividing the local economy into two parts: 1) firms and individuals serving markets outside the community; and 2) firms and individuals serving markets within the community.

Goods and services which the community sells outside its boundaries are considered exports. Exports include all sales made outside the community. The remaining goods and services go to the local market.

An implicit assumption in the division of markets is the cause and effect relationship between the local and export sectors, with the export sector serving as the prime mover of the local economy. Whenever export employment rises or falls, corresponding changes are seen in local employment.

More explicitly, the construct behind the economic base concept its;

$$A_t = A_{end} + A_{ex}$$

$$A_{end} = t\ (A_{ex})$$

where A_t is total economic activity, A_{end} is endogenously determined, and A_{ex} is exogenously determined activity. The endogenous or local variables are influenced by what happens exogenously in the export sector.

More specifically, an empirically relevant model of the economic base is: [1]

$$E_t = E_l + E_e$$

$$E_l = t\,(E_e)$$

where E_t is total employment, E_l is employment in industries producing goods and services for sale within the local area and E_e is employment in industries producing for export, where the demand for exports is exogenously determined.

This economic base model assumes that total employment is a suitable indicator of an area's economic situation and that total employment depends ultimately on export employment.

The economic function of a community is thus seen to be production and trade. Production that takes place is seen as resulting from a combination of an area's resources and its geographical location (i.e., its relation to markets).

There is an employment multiplier effect that can be derived from the export base theory. This multiplier, k, equals the change in total employment as a result of a change in export employment. k can be computed as

$$k = \frac{1}{\frac{E_e}{E_t}} = \frac{E_t}{E_e} = \frac{1}{1 - \frac{E_l}{E_t}}$$

The critical thing to know is whether or not k is stable. A stable multiplier implies stable functional relationshps between production and spending patterns.

Employment: The next step is an economic base study is to provide a framework for the analysis of employment in the community. The first consideration here is whether two sectors -- export and local -- are sufficient. Thus, "What is the analytically most useful level of aggregation one can afford to make in the study?", is the first question to be answered. Two kinds of aggregations can be made: industry or sectors. Industry refers to aggregates of firms producing similar products. Sectors refers to the kinds of markets that industries serve.

If sectors are to be used one must first allocate activity between export and local sectors. Each of these sectors in turn needs to be broken down into component sectors. The number and type of component sectors depends on the different types of demand for the community's products and the purpose and scope of the study.

Component sectors are then related to the particulars of the community studied and the characteristics of its market.

The export sector will be determinded by the markets the community has for its goods. The local sectors can be seen as business investments; housing investment, social consumtion, etc.

Besides the components of export and local sectors there are direct and indirect ties to other sectors. Direct ties are those to be export sector, i.e., the producer of the product. But there are also indirect ties such as those inhere in supplying firing clay and other materials for the brocks produced for export. This linkage is based upon the fact that if demand for the export product rises or falls, there will be a corresponding change in demand for the indirect sector.

Industry groupings may be approached as follws: The aggregation of industry is based on the Standard Industrial Classification Manual (or S.I.C.) code.[2] One can use this code to break-down a broad industrial category, such as manufacturing into food products, leather goods, transportation equipment, ets. into several levels of fineness depending upon the number of code digits used. The level of aggregation used will depend on the nature of the local economy.

Adequacy of the base study is tested by how well the date developed actually measure the base. There are a number of units for base measure that can be used, depending on the purpose of the study and the type of available date.[3] "Sales, as a measure, records total transactions. But there is double counting since "sales" includes the value of intermediate transactions-sales by the wholesaler to the retailer to the consumer.

"Value added" is a measure defined as the sales of a firm less the cost of materials purchased from other firms.

"Incoming accruing" to residents consists of wages and salaries, dividends, interest, rents, and other forms of income.

"Employment" is measured in terms of jobs.

Once the unit of measure is selected, the next step is to allocate the aggregate of the unit among the sectors of the economy. This can be done by actual measurement -- interviews, questionnaires -- or by indirect methods.

Indirect measures usually take employment as the unit of analysis; and sectors are limited to export and local. There are three indirect measures which are frequently used. First, there is the assumption approach. An arbitrary assumption is made as to what is export and what is local employment. The usual type of assumption is that all manufacture and agriculture is export and the rest is local. Secondly, there is the location quotient. If a given community is highly specialized relative to the nation in production of a specific commodity, the product is assumed to be an export item.

In using the location quotient, for the community under study, employment is taken during some pertinent year on the basis of industry groups. Then, the assumption is made that the local residents have demand patterns similar to those held nationally. There are three cases that can prevail. If there are no exports or imports of a particular product by community, then local employment in this industry equals the national proportion. If community specializes in a product and exports it, then it has more local employment in the industry than the national proportion. Finally, if a community imports a particular product, the local employment is proportionately less than the national norm.

The location quotient can be calculated by the formula:[4]

$$\frac{X}{\text{total local employment}} = \frac{\text{national employment industry}}{\text{total national employment}}$$

The value of this indirect measure is limited. It does measure indirect and direct exports and it is an inexpensive measure to use in a study. However, there are a number of important qualifications to be noted. First, the assumption of uniform demand nationally is probably unrealistic. Second, it assumes that the marginal productivity of labor is equal nationally and this is also unrealistic. Third, the level of exports will vary according to the S.I.C. digit level used. That is, individual products tend to be exported, but sometimes they are imported. Thus meat products, dairy goods, ets. are food exports. Within a community that imports meat and exports dairy products, the level of exports will be lower.

Third, there is the minimum requirements technique.[5] The approach is to take, for example, 100 communities similar to the one being studied and for each calculate the per cent of the total labor force employed in each industry. Then, rank the percentages for each industry in decreasing order of size. The fifth percentile community found this way is considered (for that industry) the minimum required by all communities to be self-sufficient. The value is a purely arbitrary decision.

Given the limitations of the indirect measure, it is useful to measure commodity and money flows or to survey the local economy. In the first approach, goods and services are seen to flow across the border between the community and the rest of the world. If one can measure these flows, then the volume of exports and imports can be determined. The primary limitation of this approach is the lack of data. The second approach, which is the most direct way, is by sample survey methods. There are two primary groups to be measured -- people and firms. Information on people is best collected by interviews covering such variables as what is total income? . . . where earned? . . how spent? For the firm interview one needs questionnaires appropriate to the industry studied. The relevant variables are sales volume and purchasers.

The employment version of export base theory is only one alternative; another is the income version. The income version can be seen in terms of the short-run and the long run. In the short-run, community income is defined as that coming from three sectors: exports, local investment and local consumption. For the short-run it is seen that the incomes from the export and local investment sectors depend on outside factors.

The income in the local consumption sector depends on two factors.

First, residents spend some income on local goods and services which creates sales dollars for local consumption of goods and services. Second, some of these sales dollars remain in the local economy and generate local income.

These are the elements of the income multiplier which can be expressed by the following formula.[6]

$$\text{Total income increase} = \frac{\text{Increase in Export plus local investment income}}{1 - (\text{Tendency to consume locally})(\text{Income created per dollar of local consumption sales or MPC})}$$

The income multiplier is influences by a number of factors. One of these is wage rollout which operates as follows: Given an increased demand for exports, more workers are hired in export industry. As these workers earn more money, part of their income is spent in the local area. This extra money tends to raise the wages rates of the service employees. The extent to which this effect takes place depends on the ability of service workers to shift to export work, the results of an immigration of labor to fill new jobs, and where and how fast the extra income is spent.

Having examined the employment and income versions of the export base theory, there comes the question of which approach is to be taken in this study? The choice made here is to examine both employment and income economic base measures of the townsite, defining the area as that portion of Indiana within Clay County consisting of Washington, Perry and Sugar Ridge Townships. These three townships and the towns within them-- Cory, Ashboro, Center Point, and Bowling Green -- are the trade center to be studied.

Second, both indirect measures and survey methods are used to study this area. The study uses income and employment multipliers and other indirect measures, like the location quotient and minimum requirements technique. Survey methods will be used to provide interview data on persons and firms in the area to provide a summary description of other economic assets of the Townsite. Once these survey data are presented, it should be possible to make comparisons among the elements of the townsite such as comparing education level with type of work, income with aspiration level, income with spending patterns, age groups with type of work, etc.

Besides these comparisons, some multiple correlations could be made to determine which variables are most relevant to the explanation of the economy of the Townsite. For example, what is the relative importance of education level, age distribution, aspiration level, type of work in explaining the current economic activity of the Townsite.

In sufficient data are obtained from the survey methods and census materials, some limited forecasts of the townsite economy become possible. These forecasts would take the economy at present and project changes in some of the variables over the next five years. For example, what might be the trend in economic growth if water and gas facilities are available; if the new interstate highway passes within exit range of the townsite; if the townsite becomes a place where the workers in other areas choose to live.

In summary, to measure the economic base of the Townsite, the procedure was: a) to use the previously collected data of the Coffin Questionnaires, b) the relevant U. S. Census data at the county and township level, c) and to supplement this with interviews with local knowledgables and with the owners of local retail and service establishments.

The results of this study provide a descriptive view of the Townsite economy as it stand today. Unfortunately no valid economic forecast statement can be made with these limited data. However, an appendix with possible areas for future development is included.

POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS

Population data are given in Appendix A, Table 1. The total population of the Townsite area shows a decline in rural population from 1940 on. First, the population distribution between rural and urban in Clay County is about 65% rural and 35% urban. Further, while the total population of Clay County declined from 25,365 in 1940 to 23,918 in 1950 and rose to 24,209 in 1960; the decline was primarly farm population. For instance, from 1950 to 1960 the population increased 1.2 per cent with urban up 5 per cent and rural down .8 per cent. These county data are paralleled by changes in the Townsite population. Changes from 1940 to 1950 to 1960 for Perry Township, Sugar Ridge Township and Washington Township, respectively, were 1,106 to 1,034 to 1,007; 1,259 to 1,071 to 929; and 928 to 788 to 733. The towns of Center Point and Bowling Green showed similar changes. Between 1940 and 1950 and 1960; Center Point declined from 332 to 297 to 268 while Bowling Green moved from 219 to 235 to 229.

These population data figures are similar to the U. S. figures for the same period but different from those for the state of Indiana. For the U. S., total population increased from 1940 to 1960 while the rural population decreased 8.5 per cent from 1940 to 1950 and .8 per cent from 1950 to 1960. However, in Indiana; while total population increased from 1940 to 1960, the rural population did the same. Thus, in Indiana, Clay County's rural population was unusual. If this trend continues, then rural Clay County can expect a future decline in its population with some increase in urban population. However, given the present two to one ratio of rural over urban popualtion, Clay County and the Townsite will most probably remain for the immediate future.

Tables 2-6, Appendix A, indicate the characteristics of the population for Clay County and the Townsite in terms of sex, age, race, education and occupational distributions. For Clay County in 1960, there were 11,724 males and 12,483 females. For the males, 11,630 were white, 88 negro and 5 of other races. For the females, there were 12,366 white, 106 negro and 11 of other races. For the townsite, the sexes were evenly distributed. There were 1333 males and 1336 females. For both groups, the total population was white.

The age distribution in Clay County showed, for males, 26.4 per cent under 14 years of age, between 7 and 11 per cent each for ages 15 to 44, 21 per cent from 45 to 64 and 13 per cent over 65. The female distribution was similar. For the town site, the distributions for male and female were close to those of the county. The main difference was a greater percentage of people over 65, about 18 per cent of males and females.

As far as the education distribution, for both Clay county and the townsite, the median education was about 2 years of high school. For the county, the majority of the cases centered between a grade school education and a high school education for both sexes. For the rural population of the county in the census data, the majority of the cases are between grade school and high school. This same feature is found in the distribution of the Coffin data.

Looking specifically at the occupations of the labor force, Table 6, the following observations can be made. For Clay County, the most important jobs are manufacturing, wholesale and retail trade, agriculture and clerical. For the townsite, the most important jobs are agriculture, manufacturing, construction, teacher and religious.

In summary, the townsite population as a whole is white; there is a large group of younger persons under 14 and an almost equally large number of people over 65 and the median education is about tenth grade. In occupation, agriculture is the most important with manufacturing and construction work following.

Agriculture Characteristics

Like most other rural towns, the primary activity in the Townsite is agricultural, it is included in the economic base study because of its primary influence upon the towns. Towns in the Townsite are dependent on the agricultural trade for their present economic existence. The population in the towns has a high percentage of older persons in the labor force and many retired individuals. The other persons in the towns -- those who are not engaged in local business -- find work away from the Townsite and tend to trade elsewhere. From personal interviews with the local business proprietors, the primary customers are the local farmers. Thus, the interaction between the farmers and the local towns appears to generate most of the local urban commercial activity.

What then are the characteristics of the farms in the Townsite? What size are they? What equipment and facilities do they have? What do they produce? Where is it sold?

Based on the data in Tables 1-12, Appendix B, the following characteristics of agriculture in the Townsite can be seen. There has been a decline in the number of farms from 1959 to 1964 but a corresponding increase in acreage per farm and value of lands and facilities. Out of the 232,960 acres of land in Clay County, the proportion of land in farms has risen from 75.7% in 1959 to 80.4% in 1964. Out of the 176,438 acres of land in farm use in 1959, the acreage size of the farm was127.5 acres. In 1964, with 187,310 acres of farm land, the average size farm was 148 acres. While there was a decline in the total number of farms from 1384 to 1266, this corresponds to the national trend of declining small farms.

Looking at farms by size, the farm of 180 acres or less showed a decline in the absolute number while farms of over 180 acres showed an absolute increase.

Farms classed by use of land remained the same for 1959 and 1964 with about 45% of the farms being cash grain growers, another 45% miscellaneous and about 10% raised livestock for selling -- hogs, dairy, poultry.

When the farms are ranked by economic loss, the commercial farms showed an increase with sales of $20,000 or more. There was a decline farms with sales of $2,500 to $19,999 and a small increase in farms of $50 to $2499 in sales. There was a slight decline in number of commercial farms from 806 to 775. The other 40 per cent of the farms-part time and part retirement-showed a large decrease from 620 to 491.

Income from farm products sold showed a large increase from 1959 to 1964. In 1959, there was a $7,963,433 income from farm products sold, with an average of $5,584 per farm. In 1964, there was $9,899,401 in income from farm products with an average of $7,819 per farm.

As for land use, equipment and facilities and hired labor, the following characteristics can be seen. Out of the total number of acres used for farm land, about 55 per cent is for cropland harvested. The remaining land is used for pasture, left idle or is woodland. In terms of equipment, there is about one automobile, one truck and two tractors of various types per farm.

For details on equipment see Table 10, Appendix B. For hired labor, about one-fourth the farms (490) employ hired help but only 71 farms have regular hired help.

Half the farms raise hogs and cattle and one-quarter raise poultry. As far as crops harvested, in terms of quantity and value, corn was the most common grain, followed by wheat, sorghum, soybeans and other small grains. Some vegetables were raised and sold but not an important amount, economically. In the category of tree fruits and forest products, apples were the most important product with minor amounts of green house plants and sales of lumber.

In summary, agriculture is the most economically productive component in the Townsite. From the Coffin data, it is seen that 23 per cent of all employment is agricultural. And Since most construction and manufacturing employment is outside the townsite, agriculture remains as the main source of employment for those who are employed within the Townsite. From a brief examination of the data concerning agriculture in the Townsite, it can be seen that farming is an increasingly economically worthwhile occupation. However, part of this increase has been the result of a decrease in the number of actual farms. So it appears that agriculture is a steady or slightly decreasing -- if more remunerative -- source of employment in the Townsite.

Retail Trade

As important as retail trade is to the economic base of a community in terms of serving the demands of the local market and of attracting consumers from outside the geographical area, it is an insignificant factor at present in the Townsite. Retail trade establishments have been declining since 1940. Prior to 1940, retail trade was still important in the Townsite area. Before good roads and automobiles, and without rail or bus transportation, the local retail store in Cory, Center Point and Bowling Green provided the retail trade center for the Townsite area. Besides selling the essentials for living such as food, clothing, small pieces of hardware such as tools; fertilizer; the retail trade stores also were the center for the purchases of appliances such as refrigerators, stoves, and for farm equipment such as tractors and parts. This local buying tendency was amplified by the fact that jobs were available locally to satisfy all demands. Farming and strip coal mining were the main sources of jobs and of demand for jobs. Thus, as long as the Townsite area was relatively isolated from the urban areas of Brazil, Terre Haute, and Indianapolis and as long as the demand and types of jobs available locally remained similar, the importance of the towns as the retail trade centers of the Townsite remained high.

Since 1940 there has been a slow but steady decline in the importance of retail trade in the Townsite. The pattern of change appears to be as follows: Since 1940, the roads connecting the Townsite to Brazil and Indianapolis on the North and Terre Haute on the West became primary State highways, suitable for easy access to these other cities. Also, the automobile was improved and its use became more widespread. Further, there was the important element of the post W. W. II boom with the great expansion of industrial production and aspirations of rural inhabitants. The type of job available and the demand for jobs changed away from farming and strip mining to a better paying and perhaps more attractive job in manufacturing or construction. In this respect, the Townsite has followed the national trend of a decline of rural employment and increasing importance of urban employment.

With this out-migration of people, some who moved away, and some who merely found jobs elsewhere, came the decline of the retail trade business in the Townsite. Those who worked away from the Townsite found better places for shopping -- larger department stores, supermarkets instead of a small general store, etc. -- and prices that were probably less. Even those who still lived in the Townsite -- the farmers and other residents -- found a wider and better choice of goods elsewhere and so bought their goods elsewhere.

This pattern of developments was verified in personal interviews with owners of the retail establishments in the Townsite. Also, it appears from these interviews, that the pattern described has greatly accelerated in the past 5 years. Except for the grain and fertilizer business, all the other retail establishments have had a great decline in business. It appears that few major purchases are now made within the Townsite. At present, local retail business is limited to the sale of small essential items, for which a trip outside the Townsite would not be justified. Lamp cords, nails and bolts, etc., plus a few grocery items such as bread, soup, etc., drugs, gasoline and oil, and grain and fertilizer constitute the local market. Exceptions to the pattern are monopoly services. There is only one bank in the Townsite area -- in Center Point -- and it is the financial center of the Townsite. It is prosperous, based mainly on the business from the local farmers. The other exception is the funeral home in Center Point which provides the only funeral and ambulance service in the Townsite area.

In summary, the important fact for the economic base is that most income is earned outside the Townsite; and much that is earned in the Townsite, is leaving the local economy. It means that the income multiplier is close to zero , and may even have a negative rather than a positive impact.

Data that support the above statement can be found in the U. S. Census materials and in the Coffin questionnaire data. In the U.S. census materials only Brazil is considered as urban and the rest of the county, including the Townsite, is classed as rural.

The data can be found in Tables 1-3 in Appendix C for retail trade, Table 1, from the Coffin data, shows that about 58 per cent of the people buy their food outside the townsite; that about 98 per cent buy clothing outside and that about 87 per cent buy their appliances and other machinery outside.

The Towns

The towns in the Townsite can be seen as characteristic of today's small rural American town. The population exhibits some small decreases. Residents in these towns are primarily retired or semi-retired with a few business operators and a few workers who live in town and work elsewhere. There is little new construction in the towns since both business and population have declined over the past 10 years. Streets are paved in the towns, but except for State highways, they are in poor condition.

Bowling Green is a stable community. There are not many empty buildings; while most are older buildings, they are well-kept.

Cory is a deteriorating town. About half the buildings on the main street are empty and in poor condition. The remaining stores and businesses are in good to poor condition. Center Point is the most progressive of the towns. While there are empty buildings, their condition is good. It has the most buildings of recent construction within the Townsite.

Of the three towns described above Center Point appears to have the best town plant. While the residents still rely on wells and cisterns for their water supply, they have completed plans and have submitted an application for an FHA loan for development of a municipal water system. This water system could be sufficient for a 100 per cent increase in present demand. The town now has a contract with the Terre Haute Gas company to provide natural gas by pipe.

For fire protection, there is the Center Point Volunteer fire department. The department has 25 persons of whom 5 or 10 are always available to fight fires. Equipment consists of a pump truck with a 300 gallon capacity and a tank truck with an additional 1000 gallons. Also they have two portable pumps to supply water from a nearby well or cistern. The equipment is inspected and approved by the State Fire Marshall's office. Besides providing protection for Center Point, the department serves the rest of Sugar Ridge Township, the southern half of Jackson Township; protects Washington Township on a contract basis, and protects Perry township on a joint basis with the town of Riley.

For police protection, the township has an honorary marshall. Actual police protection is provided by the Clay County sheriff's office in Brazil who makes nightly patrols of the town and township.

There is a county health officer whose duty is to inspect all restaurants, to check on water supplies and to investigate any health complaints. He enforces the state health regulations. There are no county level health regulations. (State health regulations can be found in sources listed in the appendix.)

Hospital and medical help includes one doctor who serves the town during the daylight hours with an office in Center Point. However, at night he is at home in Brazil. An emergency ambulance service is provided by the Rentschler funeral home in Center Point. For hospital care, the nearest place is Brazil or Terre Haute.

Educational facilities include an elementary school in Ashboro for grades one to six, a high school in Cory, two high schools in Brazil and one in Clay City. The elementary school in Ashboro is antiquated both in building and facilities. It is the original brick building from the 1930's.

As far as the towns of Bowling Green and Cory, their town plant is much more limited than Center Point's. The two towns have no fire service, no municipal water system or plans for one, and no gas service. Like Center Point, police protection is provided by the county sheriff's office and hospital care is available only in Brazil and Terre Haute.

Their educational facilities consist of a grade school for years 1 to 6 in Bowling Green and a similar grade school in Cory. A high school exists in Cory but it is in the worst physical condition of the 4 county high schools and may be abandoned in the future. The two grade schools were built at the same time as the Ashboro school and are in the same poor condition.

Summary of the important factors in the economic base of the Townsite

First, the Townsite, by U. S. Census definition and by observation, is basically rural. While there are four towns -- Ashboro, Bowling Green, Center Point and Cory, these are the most elementary form of urban places.

Thus, the Townsite has to be considered as a geographical unit encompassing the townships of Perry, Sugar Ridge and Washington. Relative to the economic base, determination of what is local and what is non-local has to be on the basis of whether the job or industry is within this geographical area. An export industry could be one that sells beyond the geographical boundaries of the Townsite, and local employment would be in those jobs that serve the local geographical area. To determine the employment or income multiplier requires this arbitrary geographical concept of the Townsite.

Second, the export economic activity within the Townsite is very limited. Agriculture is the primary local economic activity. There is some limited strip mining for coal and clay for export. But, beyond these two activities, the remaining occupations would have to be considered as local service employment. Retail stores do not sell to persons from outside the Townsite. Gasoline stations, feed and fertilizer dealers, the bank, the funeral home -- all serve the Townsite area as their primary activity. There is no manufacturing, no wholesale trade of any economic importance to future growth within the Townsite.

Third, looking at the employment and income multipliers, it seems as if these operate in a neutral fashion. Most of the money earned locally in agriculture, in local mining jobs or commuting jobs is spent outside the Townsite area. There does not seem to be any income multiplier, at least one with any significant positive influence upon community growth. (Refer to distributions of expenditures patterns; where worked as indicated in tables.)

Also, there appears to be no significant employment multiplier. Agriculture and mining are the export employment activities and since employment in these two occupations has remained relatively stable, the total employment in the Townsite has remained relatively stable. There is no export employment catalyst to make it unstable. It is not surprising that economic activity remains fairly stable or tends to decrease in the Townsite.

Fourth, the present stable economic situation in the Townsite seems to be the result of a number of economic factors that have developed over the years: the slow development of a tendency for Townsite residents to shop outside the Townsite area; the tendency of the younger persons who did not choose farming to find jobs outside the townsite and to do most of their shopping there while still living in the Townsite; the tendency of other young persons to leave the Townsite area completely to find better jobs elsewhere.

This study provides only a general description of the economic assets and liabilities of the Townsite. Given the limited data and the evident inaccuracies in both the Coffin and Census materials, no economic forecasts of any value can be made or should be attempted. To attain the goal of limited forecasting for the Townsite economy would require Coffin type of Census information for economic variables (income, where work, type of work, expenditure pattern) be collected over a period of several years. Also, it would be necessary to provide more cross-checking of data and perhaps a different procedure for collecting the census data to insure that the data were accurate. If the data could be confirmed as accurate and a series of data for a several year period were available, some accurate and useful economic forecasts could be made.

Perhaps more dependable data might be obtainable by some revision of the procedure to guarantee that the responses would remain confidential. Essentially the same questions would be asked but special attention would be given to reassuring community power figures that responses were strictly confidential. In part this is a matter of personality and situational variables. One cannot produce change unless there exists a desire to change, a conviction that change is possible and a sincere motivation to work in the interests of producing such change. More explicitly there should be some discussion of reliability (or consistency of response) and of validity (the ability of information) collected to stand cross comparison with census data and previous township data.

Such an approach, is probably too costly in both time and money for the limited forecasting that might be possible. The best alternative would seem to be to present the Township with the descriptive picture of its present economic base and merely to suggest possible procedures to be followed in initiating community improvement projects in certain areas. These are personal speculations and have little more to support their considerations.

Summary of possible areas for concentration of community development projects

Having seen that agriculture is the present economic keystone, what are some areas in which the communities could use to provide some economic impetus for local growth?

A possible area is development of a recreational center for the populations of Terre Haute and Indianapolis. As indicated in the water resources summary, development of the abandoned strip mines as fishing and recreational areas appears to be a real possibility. An example of private initiative in this particular area appears the Dietz Lake resort just south of State highway 46 near Center Point. Outdoor recreation appears to be an area which might attract outside investment to the local economy without great development costs to the Townsite communities.

Another possible area of development is the attraction of light industry such as electronics or plastics. A number of important development problems appear in this case. First, there is the problem of an adequate water supply for industry. While adequate water deposits exist for light industry, only Center Point at present has plans for development of a water system to actually make available existing potential sources. Other problems are location relative to adequate transportation facilities, and the existence of a qualified local labor supply. The first positive step would appear to be the creation of a development committee to solve the problems of water supply, availability of land suitable for industrial use, etc.

Another possible area of future development is as a bed-room city for industrial workers who commute to work in Terre Haute. There are a number of problems with the suggestion also. The most important problem is geographical location. The town of Riley lies on State highway 46 and has a good highway to Terre Haute. Already, Riley is becoming a type of bed-room city for workers from Terre Haute. The extent of this development will depend upon the attractiveness of the community to the possible residents. The community could be enhanced as a dwelling place by good schools, pleasant homes and surroundings, availability of community recreation especially for the younger more active groups, more favorable tax rate, land and building costs, as well as accessibility to good transportation.

Footnotes

1. Leven, Charles L., Theory and Method of Income and Product Accounts for Metropolitan Areas, p. 6.

2. Tiebout, Charles M., The Community Economic Base Study, Supplementary Paper No. 16, New York, 1962, pp. 31-32.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 45-46.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 47.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 49-50.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 61.

URBAN PLACES, SERVICES, AND THE CONCEPT OF COMMUNITY

Much has been written on the subject of urban places[1] and the communities that they encompass. Indeed there is enough material available to constitute a literature of urbanism. Yet, in this whole body of literature which dates back, at least to Max Weber, few have been able to so define the urban place as to allow for cross-national and cross-cultural comparison. One purpose of this paper is to attempt such a definition on the basis of two research projects. The first project was undertaken in Mexico and dealt with two villages in the state of Hidalgo while the second dealt with four Indiana towns.

A second objective is to develop from this definition of urban places a means for comparing across national and cultural boundaries. This will lead to a consideration of the way people use the services of the urban place. Finally, we should discover that such an inquiry raises questions on the periphery of urbanism such as the nature of communities, the effects of rapid automotive transportation, etc. Clearly, not all the

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[1] In this paper the words "urban place," refer to any place of human residence regardless of size. Later this definition will be amplified to include various urban categories, but this will still remain the primary usage.

"peripheral" questions can be answered here but they are worth keeping in mind for they indicate new areas for potential research.

In the United States, and elsewhere, we usually differentiate among urban places on the basis of population. Thus we state that New York has a population of 8,000,000 while Kansas City has a population of 500,000. Moreover, we can suggest the rough equivalency of the life style of such great cities as London, New York, Chicago, Paris, Tokyo, Mexico City, and Buenos Aires on the basis of population alone. We can even equate Pachuca, Hidalgo with Bloomington, Indiana on the basis of population. However, a problem arises when we attempt cross-national or cross-cultural comparisons of many smaller places. For example, there is, apparently, a village in Africa of 5,000 people with no greater differentiation of social life than kinship patterns. Is this village equivalent to an American city of 5,000? Of course, it is not. We will return to this problem after we consider an alternative means of comparison. This alternative differentiates among urban places by means of the number of services they provide their residents.

The main reason for using urban services is that they seem to eliminate the difficulties encountered with the population criteria, for urban services assume a certain population level to be effective. Yet one can find places that have a population able to support more services than are provided. Thus the quality of life in such places will tend to be less urban than in smaller places having more services.

The particular list of urban services and the classification system that will be used in this paper were developed by Ricardo Pozas, a Mexican sociologist, for use in a study of several villages in the state of Hidalgo. This scale was, however, slightly modified in the translation process so as to apply more effectively to urban places located in both the United States and Mexico (and any other nation).

The Pozas scale of urban services consists of 34 steps, each of which represents a service area. Thus each service is provided to meet the needs of an additional group of people. Moreover, each service must be administered by a group of individuals. What this means is that the more people there are in a given urban place the greater the service potential, both in terms of fulfilling needs and in terms of capabilities. However, the mere fact of population in a given place does not mean that services will necessarily be instituted. The psychology of the group may be such that service needs are not felt. Or the technological level of the group may be so low that it prohibits the development of many services. And this, of course, refers to only two possible reasons for a lack of urban services. Figure 1 lists the services identified by Pozas.

Figure 1. Scale of Urban Services

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1. Named and autonomous locality group
2. More than one street
3. Church and school buildings

4. A governing body
5. Public square
6. General store
7. Specialized stores
8. Grocery store (or market)
9. Supermarket
10. Bank
11. Running water (piped)
12. Electricity
13. Highways
14. Sanitary services
15. Paved streets and sewers
16. Post office
17. Telegraph service
18. Telephone service
19. Urban communications (taxis, buses, etc.)
20. Rail communications
21. Air communications
22. Planning service
23. Social clubs
24. Sports clubs
25. Commercial sports
26. Parks
27. Bowling alley or pool room
28. Movie house
29. Theater (stage)

30. Concert hall

31. Ballroom

32. Night clubs

33. Bars

34. Houses of prostitution

Each of these 34 services represents an additional level of social organization. Thus the fact that a place is named means that its inhabitants see it as a community distinct from all others. Similarly a church, a school, and a bank cope with felt financial, spiritual, and educational needs. The fact that there are facilities of communications means that the particular community feels a need to interact with other (and often larger) communities. Sports, movies, night clubs, and bars represent the recreational needs of a community that feels integrated enough to demand such diversion. Finally the existence of organized prostitution means that the community is developed to such an extent that an extra-legal (or extra-moral) service is needed to cope with those felt needs which are recognized as being outside the expressed community morality.

While these 34 services can be used to differentiate effectively among nearly all urban places a five class scheme has been devised on the basis of the 34 steps that serves effectively in most cases. Figure 2 shows the classification scheme.

Figure 2.

Class No.	Class Name	No. of Items
I	Rural	0
II	Semi-rural	1 - 9
III	Semi-urban	10 - 19
IV	Urban	20 - 29
V	Very Urban	30 or more

This paper has so far suggested that comparison of urban places on the basis of population does not differentiate as well as comparison on the basis of urban services. It seems useful now to show, with respect to six small urban places, just how this is the case. The six places are: Ashboro, Bowling Green, Centerpoint, and Cory, Indiana, in the United States; and Chiconcuac and Tlanalapa, Hidalgo, in Mexico. Figure 3 represents their comparative ranking with respect to population.[2]

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[2] The population figures for Chiconcuac and Tlanalapa are only approximate while those for the Indiana towns are exact since they are taken from a census conducted by the project in the spring of 1965.

Figure 3.

Name of Town	Population
Tlanalapa, Hidalgo	1,000
Chiconcuac, Hidalgo	500
Centerpoint, Indiana	298
Cory, Indiana	285
Bowling Green, Indiana	263
Ashboro, Indiana	92

What Figure 3 appears to show is that the two Mexican towns are overwhelmingly more urbanized than are their Indiana counterparts. Is this really the case? Is the life style of Chiconcuac really more urban than that of Centerpoint? Even the casual observer of both places could not answer yes, for in Chiconcuac there are only two water faucets--one at the school and one at the site of the planned water tank. In Centerpoint, however, ne[illegible]very home has running water. Moreover, there are not automobiles in Chiconcuac but nearly every home in Centerpoint has one. One could catalogue these factors indefinitely, but the point has been clearly made--population is a poor criteria for cross national urban comparison. But it remains to be demonstrated that urban services actually differentiate better.

Perhaps, the most effective means of demonstrating just how well urban services differentiate is to present this information in a comparative table of urban services using the modified Pozas scale for all six urban places. Figure 4 shows this for the individual services while Figure 5 compares the towns with respect to urban class.

The picture of the level of urbanism of these six urban places given in Figure 4 differs drastically from the picture given in Figure 3. And the picture in Figure 4 more nearly corresponds to what we would expect from a comparison between Mexico and the United States than does Figure 3. Thus Figure 4 shows Cory and Bowling Green as being most urban with 16 services each. They are followed by Centerpoint with 14½; Tlanalapa with 14; Ashboro with 12½; and finally by Chiconcuac with 9 services.

An important question is now raised as to the significance of the variation of urban services among the six towns. In other words, how important is the difference between 16 services and 14 services? Or between 16 services and 9 services? To meet this problem Pozas devised a system for differentiating among urban places on the basis of urban class based on the urban service scale. This classification system, as it applies to the six urban places, is represented by Figure 5.

Figure 4. COMPARATIVE TABLE OF URBAN SERVICES

Urban Services	Tlanalapa	Chiconcuac	Center-point	Cory	Bowling Green	Ashboro
1. Names & autonomous locality group	X	X	X	X	X	X
2. More than one street	X	X	X	X	X	X
3. Church & school buildings	X	X	X	X	X	X
4. A governing body	X	X	X			
5. A public square	X				X	X
6. General store	X	X	X	X	X	X
7. Specialized stores	X	X	X	X	X	
8. Grocery store (or market)			X	X	X	X
9. Supermarket						
10. Bank			X			
11. Running water (piped)	X	X	X	X	X	X
12. Electricity	X	X	X	X	X	X
13. Highway	X				X	X
14. Sanitary services				X		
15. Paved streets & sewers			X*	X	X	X*
16. Post office	X		X	X	X	
17. Telegraph service			X	X	X	X
18. Telephone service	X		X	X	X	X
19. Urban communications (buses, taxis, etc.)	X			X		
20. Rail communications	X	X		X		
21. Air communications						
22. Planning service						
23. Social clubs			X	X	X	X
24. Sports clubs					X	
25. Commercial sports						
26. Parks						
27. Bowling alley or pool room						
28. Movie house						
29. Theater (stage)						
30. Concert hall						
31. Ballroom						
32. Night clubs						
33. Bars						
34. Houses of Prostitution						
TOTALS	14	9	14½	16	16	12½

*No sewers

Figure 5. COMPARATIVE TABLE OF URBAN CLASS

Class No.	Class Name	No. of Items	Town
I	Rural	0	
II	Semi-rural	1 - 9	Chiconcuac
III	Semi-urban	10 - 19	Ashboro Tlanalapa Centerpoint Cory Bowling Green
IV	Urban	20 - 29	
V	Very Urban	30 or more	

As one can see from Figure 5 there are no significant differences among five of the six urban places. These five are all semi-urban with only Chiconcuac being in the semi-rural class. Of course, it is possible to argue that the classification system is not really very effective and that the distance between Cory (absolute score, 16) and Ashboro (absolute score, 12½) is greater than the distance between Ashboro and Chiconcuac (absolute score, 9). These figures are certainly correct, yet it is hard to see how they actually apply. Even a casual observation of Cory, Ashboro, and Chiconcuac would have the effect of clearly demonstrating that life in Ashboro more closely resembles life in Cory than it does life in Chiconcuac. A very telling example of this is that in both Cory and Ashboro a person can go to the bathroom in his own house and use a flush toilet. In Chiconcuac, to use an outhouse he must walk to the school; otherwise he goes behind the maguey bushes.

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Graphic as it is, comparative toiletry is not the most methodologically rigorous way of demonstrating the effectiveness of the classificatory system. A sounder method is to consider the nature of the urban community and its relationship to the whole of society. For in this relationship one can clearly demonstrate the fact that Ashboro and Cory do, indeed, belong in the same urban category. While this can be demonstrated for the four American urban places, it can, unfortunately, only be assumed that a similar relationship exists with respect to the two Mexican villages. This is because the cross-national comparative data does not, at present, exist. Thus, the remainder of this paper will consider only the four American towns.

In the past thirty years we have seen many changes take place in American life. One of the most important has been the revolution in transportation that has made the American people the most physically mobile in the world. It is clear that physical mobility has meant a change in the nature of the community, but what exactly has changed is not so obvious.

We have so far classified and compared several urban places (seen as units) with respect to each other. Now, however, it becomes necessary to consider the extent of individual utilization of urban services, for this should explain the nature of the revolution in transportation as well as demonstrate the utility of the classification scheme.

It was shown above that all four American towns fall into the category known as semi-urban. This means that they offer their residents between 10 and 19 services. But the revolution in transportation has made it possible for every person living in these towns to utilize a far greater number of services than exist in each of the towns. The fact that this is possible does not mean that people will necessarily take advantage of the additional services available to them, no matter how likely this would appear. To find out what the reality of the situation is a hypothesis was first devised. This hypothesis states that urbanism, defined with respect to the extent of urban services in a given urban place, will allow the comparative classification of the urban places studied, not only with respect to each other but as regards all urban places. However, individuals will tend to utilize a significantly greater number of urban services than exist in each of the towns under study, thus tending to, at least partially negate the spatial boundaries of the community.

To test this hypothesis a set of questions was added to the census questionnaire then about to be administered in Ashboro, Centerpoint, Cory, and Bowling Green. These questions simply asked whether the respondent ever used any of the services on the list. Of the 34 services, eight were assumed to be used by everybody, since they clearly existed in each town. Thus the respondents were asked how many of the remaining 26 services they used. These questions were, however, asked only of adults in each community.[3]

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[3] Adults were defined for purposes of this census as anyone over fifteen years old.

The scores were then tabulated for every individual on a base of +8. Significance was determined with respect to the urbanism category of each town (in this case, semi-urban). Thus scores of 19 or less (generally semi-urban) were considered as being insignificant variation. Scores of 20 or more (urban and very urban categories) were deemed significant in a direction tending to confirm the hypothesis. Figure 6 shows the way the individual utilization of urban service scores ran for each town. Figure 7 presents the same information but in terms of percentages.

Figure 6. TABLE OF INDIVIDUAL UTILIZATION OF URBAN SERVICES

	Scores		
Town	-19	20+	No. of Respondents
Ashboro	14	56	70
Bowling Green	23	157	180
Centerpoint	45	174	219
Cory	27	193	220

Figure 7. PERCENT OF INDIVIDUAL UTILIZATION OF URBAN SERVICES

Town	%-19	%20+	No. of Respondents
Ashboro	20.0	80.0	70
Bowling Green	12.8	87.2	180
Centerpoint	20.6	79.4	219
Cory	12.3	87.7	220

As Figures 6 and 7 point out the people of these towns do indeed tend to use a significantly greater number of urban services than their town provide. In fact, an overwhelming number of people in each town utilize enough services to be classified as urban (against the semi-urban category of their towns). That this is true of all four towns supports the classification of these towns as being in the same class. Thus, we also have evidence supporting the idea that people who live outside the highly urbanized cities and their suburbs utilize a quantity of services that more closely approximates the city norm than the town norm.

These facts also imply some interesting possibilities relating to the nature of the urban community. Improved transportation and utilization of urban services over and above those offered by a specific urban place seem to mean an end to the small town as it has been known. The small town no longer can provide the services that are necessary to the residents. This implies that unless the town is so situated that it provides easy access to a major urban center it has no real function in today's world. The fate of the small town seems to be either to become a "bedroom community" of a large city or to wither and die. But the data suggest that people tend to resist fate. The fact that Centerpoint and Ashboro, with fewer services than Cory and Bowling Green, show about 7% fewer people using the services of major urban centers can be taken as suggestive of this resistance.

Although we can suggest that resistance to change exists we cannot, in terms of this paper, discuss the causes of it. What we can say is that, apparently, the more urban services an urban place offers its residents the more likely they are to utilize additional urban services. Thus we would expect that the people of Chiconcuac are much less likely to use the urban services of the nearby urban center (or Mexico City) than are the people of Tlanalapa.

Another important and related question concerns whether there is a specific urban service level above which people are likely to go outside their community for additional services. That this is, in fact, true appears to be a distinct possibility. But all that can be done here is to suggest that possibility for the necessary research is obviously lacking.

The objective of this paper has been twofold. First, it has been an attempt to outline the difficulties of cross-national urban comparison. With respect to this we have suggested that a major problem in the past has been the use of population as a criteria for urban comparison. We then proposed that a different comparative standard, urban services, be used and supported its used on the grounds that it effectively differentiated among urban places located in different nations with differing cultures.

The second objective of this paper was to demonstrate that the urban service measure could lead urban inquiry into new areas. In so doing we found that individual utilization of urban services explains the nature of the revolution in transportation that has taken place in the United States. But more important is the fact that consideration of utilization of urban services forces us to focus on the problem of the nature of the community. This change of focus naturally raises far more questions then it answers. Moreover, it leads to a recognition of the overwhelming complexity of human organization. Thus this paper suggests the necessity of a deeper inquiry into the nature of social interaction and the attitudes which lead towards action.

John Fishel 4

MODERNITY, IDEOLOGY, AND POLITICAL COMPETENCE
IN
THREE SMALL TOWNS

This paper is concerned with the problem of change in the social system over time. That is, the focus is on the concept of systemic change. But this problem is obviously too large to cope with here. Rather than attempt such an effort, concentration will center on delineating some of the attitudinal pre-conditions necessary for social change to take place. In addition the relationship between these attitudes, ideology, and the political competence of the actors in the social system will be considered.

This report was built on the foundation of a research project investigating the attitudes of the members of the political elites of three small towns in southern Indiana. The particular attitudes studies were those called traditional and modern values. It was felt that these attitudes occupied opposing poles of a continuum and that they had the capability of producing tension within the social order. It was also felt that the tension produced by these conflicting values would be evidenced in terms of the alienation of the subjects from their society. However, neither tension nor alienation would be, in themselves, pathological conditions for systemic change.

Attitudes, however, are not found in isolation. They develop through contact with other attitudes and with respect to their environment. If a set of attitudes then leads to action that changes the environment, that set, in turn, must change to cope with the modified environment. Thus what is being suggested is a reciprocal relationship between attitudes and the ecological conditions in which they are found. Therefore whether structural or attitudinal factors are considered as independent or dependent variables depends on where consideration is begun. Because this is a study of attitudes, the assumption is that certain attitudional variables will be independent while others will be dependent. It is, however, important that both the independent and the dependent variables are attitudes toward the environment.

It becomes necessary here to suggest the reason for studying social change in the manner proposed. Why suggest that attitudes make for social change? Has it not always been the case that when new technology is introduced the social order changes? If so, then why complicate the issue with attitudes? The answer is simply that new technology does not always effect social change.

Since World War II the United States has been attempting to induce social change throughout the underdeveloped world by means of technical assistance. So, too, has the United Nations. Both have met with a phenomenal lack of success. With the evaluation of these programs, new elements have been introduced with an emphasis on "institution building." Community development has been attempted in India and elsewhere. By the 1960's new types of aid programs were making headlines. In Latin America the Alliance for Progress was born with its emphasis on social welfare and education. In addition, there was the Peace Corps, with its blend of idealism and pragmatism, seeking at the same time to achieve revolutionary social goals and to meet the middle level manpower needs of the developing nations.

Here at home the war on poverty was declared and a domestic peace corps, VISTA, was created. From these developments it appears that there must be a kind of intuitive understanding that rural and urban poverty are not too different whether they are found in the United States, in Mexico, or in India.

Another intuitive insight important to the development of this research, was the realization on the part of the community development volunteer that no specific project was important in and of itself. That is, that success or failure could not be judged on the basis of the completion of a project but rather on the ability of the people of his village or slum to carry on by themselves. This means that the sole purpose of the volunteer is to reach his people on a depth level and to make them see the world through his eyes. Only then are the skills he can offer them meaningful. In effect, the role of the volunteer is to change the attitudes of his community.

This interplay then, of attitudes and environment, is the substance of this study. And so we asked why these villages are as they are. But before this question can be answered it is necessary to ask what they are like. The purpose of this study is to help provide an answer to the why. In turn, part of an answer to the implicit question of how the situation can be changed may result.

Before the theory can be developed it is important to specify exactly what has been studied. Thus a series of operational definitions are presented.

Operational Definitions

1. Attitude: An attitude is a hypothetical construct which is assumed to mediate between characteristic observed responses of an individual to a socially defined set of stimuli.

2. Value: A value is any attitude that is held by two, or more, persons.

3. Ideology: An ideology is an explicit body of doctrine that formalizes the expressed values of a given social group.

4. Community: A community is a social unit with which an individual implicitly identifies. That is, implicit identification is an attitude toward a social unit that can be observed in response to stimuli (as in the question, "What is your nationality?") that bring out statements of belonging to such a social unit. Such a response might be the statement, "I am an American," which signifies an attitude of belonging to the particular national community that is designated as the United States of America.

5. Elite: An elite is any group of individuals that by reason of socio-economic status, education or political influence is found at the highest levels of a given social unit when compared with other groups of individuals in that same social unit.

6. Tension: Tension is a conflict between attitudes that is observable in terms of responses to such stimuli as, "Negroes deserve the right to vote but they are going too fast. Do you agree or disagree?" that are indicative of conflict between (a) an individual and other individuals, (b) contradictory values, (c) values and the actual situation.[1]

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[1] Wilbert E. Moore, Social Change, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1963.

7. Tradition: Tradition is a system of values made up of four elements: (a) class position given and unchanging, (b) human action must be judged for religious as well as secular meaning, (c) all human actions must be sanctioned by an ordered relationship of civil, religious, labor, professional, etc., institutions, i.e., there is a "corporate" conception of the nature of society, (d) "that loyalties must be vertically ordered in accord with authority, and that religious and primary loyalties supersede secondary ones in the determination of social actions."[2] Acceptance of any portion of these four statements may be taken as evidence of traditional values.

8. Modern: Modern also signifies a system of values that accepts the social value of nationalism as its central precept. The social value of nationalism is defined as "the acceptance of the state as the impersonal and ultimate arbiter of human (secular) affairs."[3]

9. Political Alienation: Alienation is a response showing an attitude towards government and politics that is inefficacious. Statements to the effect that governmental action is harmful and/or that the individual cannot influence governmental action are evidence of a degree of alienation.

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[2] K. H. Silvert, "National Values, Leaders and Followers," unpublished m.s.

[3] K. H. Silvert, Expectant Peoples, Random House, New York, 1963, p. 19,

THEORETICAL ASSUMPTIONS

The principal proposition of this study was that social change would take place in situations of tension involving an interplay between attitudinal and environmental factors. Essentially, it was assumed that the environment would produce a certain set of attitudes on the part of the people in the towns considered in the study. Yet this set of attitudes was unlikely to be complementary among individuals. Rather there was a likelihood of contradictory and conflicting attitudes brought about, in part, by the stresses of a changing environment.

It was clear, however, that the degree to which the environment would influence attitudes was not to be solved by this study. Thus a necessary limitation had to be introduced, to discover only those attitudes which people held with respect to their environment that appeared to determine social action. A further qualification was found in that social action tends to be initiated by the political elite of a community.

This assertion led into the related problems of community power and decision-making. Unfortunately both areas were only peripheral to this study. The study of community power became a major element of modern political and social science with the publication of Floyd Hunter's work during the 1950's. Hunter introduced what has been called the reputational technique for determining the power structure of a community. Although his technique was violently criticized, it was, perhaps, not so much the technique technique as his conclusions which were the target of the criticism. Hunter agreed that the city he studied was ruled by an elite of economic notables. In effect he suggested that democracy, at least in this American city, was a farce. The implication (that American democracy was illusory) inevitably brought about a reaction, the most important coming from Robert Dahl and his colleagues in their studies of New Haven. Dahl's book Who Governs? introduced a different form of power structure analysis. He chose three major issue areas and by means of observers followed the decisions made on the various issues. He discovered a situation far different than that found by Hunter. In New Haven, at least, what Dahl calls polyarchal democracy was the effective means of governing. Thus, in each issue area a different group of influentials dominated the situation. Moreover there was almost no overlap among these "issue area influentials" with the very important exception of the highest elected official in New Haven, the mayor.[4]

After the Dahl study, social scientists began to combine the reputational and decisional approaches to community power structure. One recent example of the combined technique is The Rulers and the Ruled by Agger, Goldrich, and Swanson. The combined technique also offered possibilities other than simply defining a political elite. For with its emphasis on decision-making the researcher would be able to discover some of the mechanisms by which systemic change could be effected. He could, for example, trace a decision from the point at which the elite recognized strain until they set in motion the machinery that changed the system so as to reduce or remove the strain.[5]

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[4] Robert A. Dahl, Who Governs?, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1961.

[5] Robert E. Agger, et. al., The Rulers and the Ruled, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., New York, 1964. And for an articulate model of decisions, see William J. Gore, Administrative Decision-Making, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., New York, 1964.

But an important gap between the isolation of a political elite and the analysis of decisions made by that elite still remained. The gap could be filled only by consideration of the attitudes held by members of the elite which condition their understanding of the environment and of the various strains within the social system. A comprehension of elite attitudes would seem, therefore, to make possible the prediction of the various decisions affecting social action. Thus the principal aim of this study was the isolation of some of the attitudes held by members of the elite in three urban places with the hope that it would then be possible to predict the probable courses of action by the elite.

One major problem remained before discussion of the expected attitudes of the elite could be undertaken, that is consideration of the various aspects of the elite concept. An elite group could be divided along several dimensions: whether the elite would be social, political, or economic; whether these elites would be made up of overlapping members or whether they would be distinct entities. Another dimension that could be considered would be that of the "active elite" and the "aspiring elite." The former would hold the reins of status, wealth, and power while the latter would desire to take over those reins. A final consideration of the elite would be to differentiate among its members in terms of their attitudes. However, in this study only two aspects of elite differentiation were considered: first the political elite, those persons active in influencing community decisions, had to be defined; second, their values had to be isolated.

It was expected that the political elite of the three towns would be differentiated along a continuum of values ranging from traditional to modern. If such a spread were dichotomized, the two groups would make up a "traditional elite" and a "modern elite." And it was expected that a situation of tension would exist between the two groups because traditional and modern values would be directly contradictory and would demand quite different, and conflicting solutions to problems stemming from the socio-physical environment. Proponents of modern, national actions would be likely to meet in head-on conflict with those of traditional, anti-national actions. An impressionistic example of such conflict would be the fight now taking place in these Indiana towns over the consolidation of the Methodist and Evangelical United Brethren churches. One would expect that members of the elite with primarily modern attitudes would support the consolidation; those with traditional attitudes would be violently opposed. Thus from a study of national or modern values there should come some ability to predict the people who would be likely to support certain kinds of change.

One rather crucial fact of social life is that most values remain suppressed. They tend to linger below the surface and can only be inferred to exist when responses to a given set of stimuli indicate their presence. Some values, however, are formalized and expressed in the terms of an ideology. But it is especially important that an ideology rarely, if ever, expresses all (or even most of) the attitudes of any one person. Rather the ideology will tend to express only those values on which the members of a community can verbally agree. Thus it is likely that most people hold attitudes that are in either partial or total disagreement with their public ideology. There is nothing inherently contradictory about this lack of cohesiveness for it appears that the function of an ideology is to mute or mask inter-personal conflict within a community by providing broad areas of expressed accord. In other words, an ideology functions to allow people with differing attitudes to live together without overt conflict. One effect of this public ideological accord is to suppress attitudes contradictory to the ideology within the individual. But attitude suppression seems to lead to the syndrome generally identified as alienation.

In the case of the three towns, it seemed likely that the public iedeology would be closely related to the myths of Americanism. Individualism and private enterprise were felt to be one cornerstone of the ideology. Similarly, the opposite of individual enterprise, socialism, seemed the logical mythical villain though socialism remained an undefined term. Thus, for the traditional elite, socialism would mean any social welfare program while, for the modern elite, it could only mean government ownership of the means of production. A traditionalist corollary would be that all social welfare measures were socialist and all socialist measures were communist. Additional elements of the ideology were found in the idea that taxes should be lower. This, of course, meant less government which, in turn, would be less socialist. Still another expressed value in the ideology was that "rural" life was somehow better, richer, and less corrupt than life in the big city.[6] Here the difference between moderns and traditionals would appear to be the tenacity with which they hold this idea.

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[6] See Arthur J. Vidich and Joseph Bensman, Small Town in Mass Society, Anchor Books, Garden City, New York, 1960.

Moderns would seem more likely to be willing to move away or to desire access to the services of large urban centers than traditionals. Thus while both groups expressed the same ideology they meant entirely different things by their words. And it was this set of propositions that suggested the alienation of both groups.

But the quality of alienation did not seem likely to be the same for each group. Moderns who identified with and were well integrated into the national polity and society were not likely to feel incompetent in national affairs. Instead, they would tend to feel that their votes count and that their national representatives did care about what they thought. Moreover, such people were able to organize themselves so as to carry their opinions to their elected representatives. Certainly with respect to national politics, one would expect them to have, at least, a subjective political competence.[7] However, if the local situation was one that these national persons were unable to control, it would seem that they could not feel politically efficacious with respect to local affairs. Certainly this was a type of alienation to which they could be expected to respond in a number of ways. First, they could immerse themselves in national politics and completely disregard the local scene, or they could withdraw to a completely a-political life, or they might seek to challenge the local leadership, either in an organized or unorganized manner. This last appeared to be the most likely possibility since people generally active in one political area would tend to attempt activity in many areas.

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[7] Gabriel A. Alsmond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture, Princeton University Press, Princeton, N. J., 1963, especially Chapter 7.

On the other hand, what about the traditionalists? These were people who one would expect to find feeling inefficacious with respect to the national government. Indeed, they saw in the national government a plot by the Communists to take over the United States and felt powerless to stop it. But here again the criteria used to explain the possible responses of the moderns applied. If the traditionalists controlled the local situation, they would certainly feel competent to run things there if only the national government would leave them alone. Thus traditionalists would tend to respond to their sense of alienation from the national government in two ways. First, they would seek to strengthen their position in the local community so as to maintain as much of the status quo as possible. For this reason they would desperately fight against efforts to consolidate the schools and churches and violently oppose such health programs as fluoridation. Their second response would tend to be the joining of right wing extremist movements such as the John Birch Society or the Minutemen, and/or to support candidates expressing right wing views.

What has been presented here is, hopefully, and inter-related theoretical statement about the attitudinal preconditions necessary for systemic change within a community. One might expect the theory to allow the prediction of the kinds of change that a community would attempt but one cannot expect to be able to predict the likelihood of success of such an attempt without the additional step of decisional analysis in relation to the power structure. Because this step deliberately has not been taken all that could be done here was to assess the validity of the theory on the basis of field testing. This task will be undertaken in two stages:

first, will be a discussion of the methodology of the study; second, will be a report of the findings. Before going into the methodology, however, it is necessary to state the specific hypotheses that were actually tested.

Hypotheses

1. The political elite of these communities will tend to divide into two or more groups, the most important being the "traditional elite" and the "modern elite." This division should be accounted for in terms of attitudes of national identification with the "traditional elite" scoring significantly lower than the "modern elite."

2. The elite, as a whole, will publicly express the prevailing ideology of the towns which will tend to be formalized in statements about the need for low taxes, in favor of free enterprise capitalism, in opposition to the encroachment of "big government," and about the superiority of "rural" to "urban" life.

3. The ideology will tend to be at variance from reality in the sense that both portions of the elite will feel alienated from their society. The "traditional elite" will tend to feel politically incompetent with respect to the national government while the "modern elite" will tend to feel incompetent with respect to the local power structure.

METHODOLOGY

Perhaps the most important thing to note about this study is that it was the result of a highly integrated research project. While each member worked on his own material there was also much consultation and mutual assistance in the form of reciprocal interviewing. In addition, relevant data was shared by the various project members. Thus the elite used in this study was the same elite used by the other members of the project.

As this was a study of elite attitudes the method of choosing the elite was of importance. Essentially the means used to select the elite was a modified reputational one. That is the elite was selected on the basis of information given by community knowledgeables. These people were first asked, informally, what some of the problems of their town were. As a problem area was identified the informant was asked who was active with respect to the particular problem. After interviews with several informants it was possible to compile a list of approximately fifteen community influentials in each town. The list then became the elite population of this study.

Since interest was directed towards the attitudes of the elite as a whole no effort was made to differentiate among the various influentials as to their degree of power. It was enough that these forty-eight (for all three towns) people were the members of the political elite. The use of sampling procedures was felt to be a legitimate means of achieving an accurate picture of elite attitudes over a limited period of time. Thus it was decided to attempt to reach a two-thirds sample of the elite drawn at random by town. With the drawing of the sample, alternates were also drawn to replace anyone who would not be interviewed for any one of a number of reasons. Unfortunately several members of the sample were immediately unavailable and the alternates were used from the beginning. Because it proved to be impossible to reach the whole two-thirds sample, the sample was reduced to sixty per cent. This meant that a total of twenty-seven members of the elite were interviewed, however, the initial randomness of the sample was also lost. In spite of these problems, it did not seem likely that they had much effect on the study. The reason for this is that the sample appeared to be large enough (sixty per cent) to give an accurate representation of the entire population.

Once the data were collected it was necessary to submit it to various statistical tests to discover whether or not it tended to confirm the hypotheses. First, the data were ordered in order so that it could be intercorrelated. This entailed the development of an index of modernity and the Gutman scaling of various questionnaire items. This latter resulted in scales (or quasi-scales) of civic competence, subjective national competence, subjective local competence, and ideology. These scales were then intercorrelated with the modernity index.

The correlating of the data involved a rather interesting problem. This was the decision as to the type of statistical test that was to be applied. Two qualitatively different types of statistical tests exist. One is called parametric, the other non-parametric. The former is used with interval data (that is data in which the distance between two items can be measured while the latter is used with ordinal data (that is data which can only be rank ordered). It happens, however, that people often use parametric tests on ordinal data despite the fact that these tests are not meant to be used in such situations. Because one aspect of the project was research training it was decided that the rules for the use of statistical tests would not be broken and that non-parametric measures would be used. Thus, the specific non-parametric test chosen was Kendall's Tau, which involved two measures: Tau, the correlation statistic, and Z, the test for significance of the correlations.

Results

In this reporting of the results of the study several things are important to keep in mind. One is the fact that this was a piece of exploratory research. That is this research was carried out during the initial year of penetration of the communities. Because of this, certain of the propositions put forth may not be as accurate as they could be due to the fact that rapport with the communities was only beginning. Thus questions which should have been asked might not have been. The result of this was to give a preliminary cast to the findings presented here. In addition the preliminary nature of the findings is augmented by the fact that only part of the data has been analyzed. Moreover, that data have undergone only initial analysis.

The field study was concerned with the testing of three hypotheses based on the theory presented earlier in this paper. The findings with respect to these hypotheses should act as evidence in support of (or in opposition to) the theory.

The first hypothesis suggested that the political elite could be divided into two or more groups with respect to their attitudes toward the nation. On this basis the series of responses to questions relating to national identification were coded in such a way as to give an index of modernity. Thus each of the twenty-seven members of the elite has been given a modernity score. The modernity index, however, only indicates national identification or its lack. It does not show whether a low scorer was a traditionalist or identified with some super-national entity. Still, this point does not appear to be of overwhelming importance due to the fact that non-national responses seemed, impressionistically at least, to have traditionalist overtones. For this reason low scorers were assumed to be traditionalists.

Table 1 clearly tends to confirm the first hypothesis. The elite did, indeed, divide on the basis of modern attitudes; but instead of two groups, three appeared. Moreover, the three groups were of equal size. Thus, there were nine high scoring

TABLE 1

INDEX OF MODERNITY

Class	Identification Number	Modernity Score	Sub-Totals	Class Totals
MODERN	19	7	2	9
	14	7		
	9	6	7	
	10	6		
	12	6		
	15	6		
	17	6		
	23	6		
	24	6		
TRANSITIONAL	26	5	9	9
	21	5		
	20	5		
	11	5		
	6	5		
	5	5		
	4	5		
	2	5		
	1	5		
TRADITIONAL	3	4	5	9
	8	4		
	13	4		
	18	4		
	27	4		
	25	3	4	
	16	3		
	7	3		
	22	3		

elite numbers (6 or 7 points), nine middle scorers (5 points), and nine low scorers (3 or 4 points). These groups were labelled as "moderns," "transitionals," and "traditionals." Clearly the nine moderns tended to view the world from an attitudinal position in direct conflict with that of the nine traditionals. But what about the nine transitionals? Their attitudes seemed to show a mixture of traditional and modern values making them "swing" leaders in any given conflict situation. Thus if the transitionals sided with the moderns, a modern oriented solution would be the likely result. The reverse would, of course, be the case if they sided with the traditionals.

Table 1, however, represents the elites of the three towns in aggregate form while the situations suggested above depend on the spread of attitudes in each one of the three towns. Tables 2, 3, and 4 demonstrate that the kind of coalitions suggested could, indeed, form in any or all of the towns. Thus, Bowling Green had one modern member of the elite, three transitionals, and three traditionals. A coalition of the modern with the three transitionals would appear to suggest a modern victory of four to three. This would depend, however, on the actual power relationships among the individual members of the elite, something which is not covered by this paper.

Ashboro/Centerpoint (Table 3) showed a much more even split among the three groups than did Bowling Green. In this case there were four moderns, three transitionals, and four

TABLE 2

INDEX OF MODERNITY

Bowling Green

Class	Identification Number	Modernity Score	Sub-Totals	Class Totals
Modern	19	7	1	1
Transitional	21	5	3	3
	20	5		
	6	5		
Traditional	8	4	1	3
	7	3	2	
	22	3		

TABLE 3

INDEX OF MODERNITY

Ashboro / Centerpoint

Class	Identification Number	Modernity Score	Sub-Totals	Class Totals
Modern	14	7	1	4
	12	6		
	15	6	3	
	17	6	3	
Transitional	5	5	3	3
	4	5		
	2	5		
Traditional	3	4	3	4
	13	4		
	18	4		
	16	3	1	

TABLE 4

INDEX OF MODERNITY

Cory

Class	Identification Number	Modernity Score	Sub-Totals	Class Totals
Modern	9 10 23 24	6 6 6 6	4	4
Transitional	26 11 1	5 5 5	3	3
Traditional	27	4	1	2
	25	3	1	

traditionals. Where Bowling Green might be said to have been weighted in favor of the traditionals and Ashboro/Centerpoint a nearly even split, Cory would have to be weighted somewhat in favor of the moderns. Table 4 shows it as having had four modern elite members, three transitionals, and only two traditionals.

As a partial check on the validity of the modernity index an attempt was made to scale the responses that seemed to measure national identification. The results are presented in Table 5. The first thing that one observes about Table 5 is that the scale scores ran in the opposite direction from the index scores. This is because the data were ordered differently, although the same set of responses was used. Thus, the lower the scale score the more the individual held modern attitudes. Secondly, Table 5 is a quasi scale (that is the CR is higher than .80 but lower than .90 which, by convention, gives a true scale). Scaling was achieved in this case by the removal of several responses which appeared to be the results of different variables. The importance of Table 5 is that it seems to substantiate the conclusions presented in Table 1. This is seen in the significant correlation (at the .002 level) of -0.41 between the modernity scale and the modernity index. The fact that the correlation was negative should be regarded as a function of the manner in which the scale was run.

The second hypothesis suggested that the ideology of the elite as a whole would tend to operate independently of

TABLE 5

SCALE OF MODERNITY

CR = 0.81
MMR = 0.71

Class	Identification Number	Guttman Scale Score	Sub-Totals	Class Totals
Traditional	25	12	1	6
	27	11	2	
	8	11		
	13	10	1	
	16	9	1	
	22	8	1	
Transitional	7	7	3	11
	3	7		
	6	7		
	23	6	5	
	2	6		
	24	6		
	10	6		
	19	6		
	17	5	3	
	15	5		
	20	5		
Modern	1	4	3	10
	5	4		
	26	4		
	18	3	3	
	12	3		
	11	3		
	9	2	1	
	4	1	3	
	14	1		
	21	1		

attitudes of national identification. Although some modification is necessary the data generally tended to confirm the hypothesis. This is shown in Table 6.

Table 6, as can be seen, is a quasi scale of ideological agreement. It is a quasi scale in that the Coefficient of Reproducibility (CR) is less than .90, although over .80. This means that the scale measures more than one variable but less than four. The table seems to show a tendency for elite members to agree with the ideological statements, with sixteen people having Guttman scores of 5 and 6. If the sixteen high scorers were added to the six people with the medium score of 4, then twenty-two members of the elite out of twenty-seven tended more to agree with the ideology than to disagree. This shows a general agreement with the hypothesis.

It is, however, quite interesting that five members of the elite tended to dispute the ideology. If the theoretical contentions were valid this means that these people would be likely to have deep attitude conflicts with their fellow members of these communities. That is to suggest that there would be a conflict here that could not be masked by ideological accord.

In the third hypothesis lies a possible clue as to the action orientation of the various members of the elite. It will be recalled that the hypothesis suggested that the elite would also be divided with respect to political competence. In the testing, political competence was considered in three ways. First, general civic competence was evaluated. This

TABLE 6

SCALE OF IDEOLOGY

CR = 0.89
MMR = 0.78

Class	Identification Number	Guttman Scale Scores	Sub-Totals	Class Totals
High Ideological Agreement	1	6	7	16
	26	6		
	25	6		
	17	6		
	18	6		
	22	6		
	11	6		
	5	5	9	
	7	5		
	13	5		
	4	5		
	10	5		
	2	5		
	21	5		
	20	5		
	24	5		
Medium Ideological Agreement	6	4	6	6
	16	4		
	8	4		
	23	4		
	14	4		
	9	4		
Low Ideological Agreement	15	3	2	5
	19	3		
	3	2	2	
	12	2		
	27	1	1	

involved questions about the individual's actual participation in politics and the view he took of the political process. With respect to the latter, this means whether or not he felt his political opinions were important as well as whether he felt that the average man could understand politics and government.

Political competence was also considered in terms of subjective national competence and subjective local competence. Questions asked here dealt with the individual's feelings about whether he could influence political and governmental decisions on the national and local levels. Tables 7, 8, and 9 represent the scales of civic competence, subjective national competence and subjective local competence.

As can be seen from the CR (0.94) Table 7 clearly represents one variable. Similarly there is a rather even distribution of scale scores running from high to low civic competence. Thus eight people tended to participate quite actively in the political process, and believed that others could as well, while nine elite members seemed to feel relatively civically incompetent. The remaining ten people (scale score 4) fell in the middle with respect to their civic competence.

Subjective national competence presented in Table 8 is again a quasi scale in the sense that more than one variable was being tested.

TABLE 7

SCALE OF CIVIC COMPETENCE

CR = 0.94
MMR = 0.79

Class	Identification Number	Guttman Scale Scores	Sub-Totals	Class Totals
High Civic Competence	10	7	1	
	14	6		
	19	6		
	24	6	4	
	23	6		8
	17	5		
	11	5	3	
	15	5		
Medium Civic Competence	20	4		
	27	4		
	9	4		
	1	4		
	6	4		
	5	4	10	10
	13	4		
	12	4		
	3	4		
	8	4		
Low Civic Competence	4	3		
	26	3		
	25	3	6	9
	22	3		
	2	3		
	18	3		9
	21	2		
	16	2	2	
	7	1	1	

TABLE 8

SCALE OF SUBJECTIVE NATIONAL COMPETENCE

CR = 0.83
MMR = 0.70

Class	Identification Number	Guttman Scale Score	Sub-Totals	Class Totals
High Subjective National Competence	10	5	11	16
	26	5		
	21	5		
	16	5		
	14	5		
	27	5		
	24	5		
	23	5		
	20	5		
	19	5		
	2	5		
	25	4	5	
	17	4		
	1	4		
	4	4		
	11	4		
Medium Subjective National Competence	7	3	4	4
	5	3		
	12	3		
	9	3		
Low Subjective National Competence	22	2	4	7
	15	2		
	13	2		
	6	2		
	18	1	3	
	3	1		
	8	1		

TABLE 9

SCALE OF SUBJECTIVE LOCAL COMPETENCE

CR = 0.94
MMR = 0.87

Class	Identification Number	Guttman Scale Score	Sub-Totals	Class Totals
High Subjective Local Competence	27	4	19	19
	26	4		
	25	4		
	24	4		
	23	4		
	6	4		
	21	4		
	20	4		
	19	4		
	1	4		
	17	4		
	10	4		
	3	4		
	14	4		
	4	4		
	7	4		
	22	4		
	16	4		
	15	4		
Medium Subjective Local Competence	13	3	4	4
	2	3		
	11	3		
	9	3		
Low Subjective Local Competence	8	2	3	4
	5	2		
	12	2		
	18	1	1	

Table 8 demonstrates quite clearly just how many members of the elite felt competent in national affairs. Sixteen people achieved high scale scores and an additional four had the middle score of 3. Only seven members of the elite seem to feel nationally incompetent. Perhaps this is related to the American political socialization process in which everyone is supposed to be able to influence government to some extent. This would certainly explain the great number of high scores.

Subjective local competence which is represented in Table 9 shows a similar tendency to Table 8. That is, most of the members of the elite felt competent in local politics. This was clearly to have been expected since the people interviewed were selected on the basis of their being members of the local political elite.

Thus Table 9 shows that nineteen members of the elite felt subjectively competent in the local situation, four more felt relatively so, while only the final four felt relatively incompetent.

What these five tables have demonstrated is that the political elite was differentiated, to some extent, on the basis of modern attitudes, ideology, and political competence. But the relationship that held among these variables was also important to the study. Moreover, the correlations that could be obtained between the modernity index and the other scales were especially important. The intercorrelations of all the variables are presented in Tables 10 and 11; however, only the correlations with the modernity index will be discussed here.

These two tables, taken together, demonstrate the relationships that existed among the variables and the statistical significance of those relationships. Thus a correlation of modernity with civic competence was obtained at T = 0.65. This means that the more modern a person was the more likely he was to participate actively in politics and to believe that others were capable of active participation as well. This relationship is significant at the 0.003 level; or stated differently, it could have occurred by chance only three times in 10,000.

A second correlation was that of modernity with subjective national competence. In this case T = 0.30 at a significance level of 0.01. Thus the more modern a person was, the more likely he was to feel that he could exercise some influence over national political and governmental affairs. It is interesting that these two relationships were expected in terms of the theory and the hypotheses. However, the remaining two correlations each told a different story.

Modernity was correlated with subjective local competence, T = 0.07 at a significance level of 0.30. This is to say that the relationship could have occurred by chance thirty times in one hundred. In other words there was no significance to the correlation. With respect to the hypotheses, this relationship tended neither towards

TABLE 10

TAU CORRELATION MATRIX

	Subjective Local Competence	Ideology	Subjective National Competence	Civic Competence	Modernity Index	Modernity Scale
Subjective Local Competence	1.00					
Ideology	-0.03	1.00				
Subjective National Competence	-0.41	0.00	1.00			
Civic Competence	0.08	-0.20	0.16	1.00		
Modernity Index	0.07	-0.22	0.30	0.65	1.00	
Modernity Scale	0.13	-0.14	-0.11	-0.04	-0.41	1.00

TABLE 11

Z-VALUE MATRIX

	Subjective Local Competence	Ideology	Subjective National Competence	Civic Competence	Modernity Index	Modernity Scale
Subjective Local Competence	1.00					
Ideology	-0.20	1.00				
Subjective National Competence	2.99	0.03	1.00			
Civic Competence	0.57	-1.50	1.14	1.00		
Modernity Index	0.50	-1.61	2.19	4.75	1.00	
Modernity Scale	0.96	-1.00	-0.79	-0.29	-2.98	1.00

confirmation nor denial. The relevant parts of the third hypothesis remained unproven.

The final correlation was, perhaps, the most interesting.* This was the slight negative correlation between modernity and ideology, T = -0.22 at a significance level of 0.05. This means that the higher the modernity score the less likely a person was to accept the stated ideology. Thus the more modern a person was the more likely he was to accept a liberal ideology.

The findings that have been presented here, although they remain preliminary, suggest that the theory was relatively well grounded. Modern attitudes did, indeed, seem to be a key predictor of additional attitudes relative to the environment. Thus modern people tended to be politically competent in general and to feel politically competent in the national arena. In addition ideology did, in general, function as a conflict avoidance mechanism. That is to say that the ideology acted to aggregate widely shared values and to express them in a public belief system. But ideological conflict could, and did, exist. A small portion of the elite tended not to hold the public ideology. More importantly, this ideological disaffection was correlated (at a low significance level, to be sure) with modern attitudes. This suggests two dimensions of modernity that need further exploration. First, there is the question of just how strong a predictor of action the modernity index is. This could be accomplished by further correlations with scales and indices drawn from the data and by replicating the study in other situations. The second dimension has to do with the potentialities for conflict inherent between modern and traditional value systems and their expression in ideological terms. Thus the results of this study are to leave some questions unanswered and to raise some additional ones, which is the way it should be.

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* The correlations with the modernity scale are not analyzed here because it was used only as a partial validation of the items which made up the modernity index.

Harry A. Phillips

POLITICAL ROLES EXPECTATIONS AND ROLE PLAYING: THE CASE OF A RURAL SMALL TOWN

I

This research project will deal with the problem of role overlap in a small town area. The author will formulate and test hypotheses derived from the question: Are those who possess the highest level of wealth or who have the highest social status in the community also the ones who are the political leaders in the community? The project was designed in the context of another course in which the proposed problem was to be shaped and analyzed utilizing either systems, field, communications, or role theory. For purposes of maximum clarity and research validity, the author believes that role theory provides an advantageous theoretical setting for the research problem.

Role theory deals with the interactions of individuals with respect to their regularized social behavior. Where an individual exists in his social setting, relative to the existence of others with whom he has social intercourse of any kind, is call the individual's position.[1] The way others evaluate and prefer an individual's position from day to day constitutes the expectation, or group of expectations, for the position. The expectations concerned with a position make up the role of the individual in his or her position.[2]

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[1] Neal Gross, Ward S. Mason, and Alexander W. McEachern, Explorations in Role Analysis (New York, 1958), p. 48.

[2] Ibid., pp. 58-60.

We can now rephrase the general question of the project in terms of role theory to ask is the political roles played in a small town are, if fact, coincidental with the economic-political and/or socio-political roles' in the town. The political role, in my use of the term, refers to those positions in which individuals are expected to attempt, and apparently succeed more than any others in the community, to have important activities of their local government conform to their desires. Those playing the economic-political role are conceptually defined as persons who possess the defining characteristic of the political role-takers, and who also are in the wealthiest (in terms of annual income) segment of the community. Participants in the role of socio-politician are here defined as holders of the highest social status in the community, while also possessing the political role-taker's defining characteristic.

In terms of elite terminology (which will be more convenient to use in this project when talking about certain groups of role-players), persons playing the political role will be called the political elite of the community. The wealthiest segment of the small town under study will be the economic elite. Similarly, a specified stratum of the community having the highest social status will be the social elite. The problem, from this perspective, is to see whether the political-elite members are members of the economic elite, and/or if the political elitists turn out to be members of the social elite.

The particular community of this research project is Cory, Indiana, a small town in the western-central part of the state, which with the residents of its immediately surrounding area has approximately 250 households. Field work has shown that, in general, those who live throughout Perry Township, with Cory in its center, identify as citizens of the unincorporated town. As a result, the research field of the project has been coterminous with the area of the township. Henceforth, then, when we refer to the community we shall be referring to Perry Township, for the purposes of this study.

To date, the principle line of attack toward the question of community role overlap has taken place in metropolitan area studies. However, role theory has not played any significant part in this past work. That is to say, the question has largely been approached from the perspective of, for instance, elites, dominants, and influentials, Still, it should be profitable to survey at this point the literature pertaining to empirical basic findings and controversies concerning elite overlap. The discussion will include references to role theory where it might be advantageously related to the Cory project.

II

The crucial thrust of questions relative to political, economic, and social elites of local communities was made into the modern research arena in 1953, when Floyd Hunter's Community Power Structure was published. Delving into the dynamics of "Regional City," in reality Atlanta, Georgia, Hunter discovered that the "political influentials" comprising the "power structure" of Regional City were usually those who owned substantial economic influence and/or position in the city.[3] Based on Hunter's well-known "reputational technique," the latter's findings remained in vogue for some years, with the connotation emitting throughout political science that big-city political influence was largely controlled by the city's business and industrial interests. In other words, Hunter found a widespread economic-political role expectation in Atlanta, and he further asserted from his evidence that the role was commonly and regularly played.

Rumblings of disagreement with both the types of findings and research methods used by Hunter emerged in 1958. Delbert Miller, in the American Sociological Review, basically employed Hunter's methodology to show that business interests did dominate decision-making on major public issues in two anonymous metropolitan centers, "Pacific City" and "Southern City." However, in an additional "English City," Miller discovered that the city's major businessmen and economic figures did not greatly influence the city's major decisions.[4] Consequently, one could observe that economic power might not be found as always translated into political power in large cities, at least in a non-American setting.

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[3] Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1953), pp. 75, 113.

[4] Delbert Miller, "Industry and Community Power Structure," American Sociological Review, 23 (1958), 9ff.

Throwing yet more light onto thought current in 1958 on community politics was an article by Robert O. Schulze, also in the American Sociological Review. In "Cibola," an industrially oriented city of 20,000 located near a large metropolis, Schulze noted from his research that the city's "economic dominants" were not, in the great majority of cases, central figures in the political life of the city. Schulze explained his conclusion in a historical perspective. As the governmental decisions in the community impinged less and less on the business interests of the economic dominants, the latter withdrew from the center stage of political decision-making. The largest commercial interests of Cibola were characterized by absentee-ownership. Schulze pointed out that "...overt direction of political and civic life has passed almost wholly into the hands of a group of middle-class business and professional men, almost none of whom occupies a position of economic dominance in the community."[5] According to Schulze, the role and role expectation of the economic dominant in politics had been dismantled by the circumstances of the times.

Schulze's methodology significantly diverged from Hunter's. Schulze did use a reputational technique, but as a secondary, substantiating tool. Rather, he derived his list of economic dominants by including all those who achieved a certain plateau of personal wealth and/or position in the community. Next, he studies the occupants of public office and the officials of the city chamber of commerce, looking for the relative frequency that such offices were filled with economic dominants over different time periods.[6] Instead of relying on reputation, Schulze emphasized formal governmental structure. This approach could be seen as a bridge to the next chronological development in urban political research, dealing with particular political issues as seen from formal political offices, i.e., the "issue-orientation" of Robert A. Dahl.

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[5] Robert O. Schultze, "The Role of Economic Dominants in Community Power Structure," American Sociological Review, 23 (1958), 3-9.

Dahl's Who Governs? introduced a new research technique relative to the reputational method. Particular areas of public concern rather than individual reputations gained the main focus. Dahl's conclusions in 1961 with regard to New Haven also differed substantially from the Hunter conclusions on Regional City. In general, Dahl found that different people exercised political power in different issue areas; in essence, political activity occurred in a setting of "dispersed inequalities" of political power.[7] We could say that Dahl found expectations for various roles from one issue area to another.

Of particular relevance for the research in Cory, Dahl asserted that relatively none of New Haven's social elite

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[6] Ibid., 6-8.

[7] Robert A. Dahl, Who Governs? (New Haven, 1961), p. 85.

("Social Notables") engaged in political activity crucial to the city's public functioning. Furthermore, while the economic elite defined by Dahl ("Economic Notables") took a somewhat larger part in city politics, members of this elite did so to no greater degree than many other segments in the population.[8] An economic-political or socio-political role structure did not exist, according to his conclusions. Dahl believed that the stance of the Economic and Social Notables could largely be explained by factors such as suburban residency of most elite members.[9] Dahl's explanation appears to be similar to Schulze's theory in dealing with the economic dominants of Cibola.

The community power studies since Dahl's work in New Haven have all tended to recognize that individuals very often play a political role with respect to one or a few issues. This has been the case even with those using a reputational technique. For instance, D'Antonio and Erickson in their comparative studies of Southwestern United States and Mexican cities mention that the political role is frequently not an economic-political role, according to their findings.[10]

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[8] _Ibid_., pp. 67-68, 72.

[9] _Ibid_., pp. 70-1.

[10] William V. D'Antonio and Eugene C. Erickson, "The Reputational Technique as a Measure of Community Power: An Evaluation Based on Comparative and Longitudinal Studies," _American Sociological Review_, 27, (1962), 362-376.

Further, in the case of Cd. Juarez, Mexico, they could not discover a viable economic-political role at all.[11] In addition, M. Kent Jennings, in his The Elites of Atlanta, concluded in 1964 that "...the economic dominants of Atlanta are only one of several key groups that play significant roles in community decision-making."[12] Jennings attempted to explain the variations between cities regarding the existence or nonexistence of an economic-political role largely as a function of historical, circumstantial development.

Taking all of the above into account, the intuitive hunch or expectation perhaps still exists among many political scientists that large wealth and/or high social status will very often lead to political power. As was mentioned at the beginning of this paper, by observing social life in the Cory area and in other small-group areas, we might ultimately search for a basic behavioral tendency, as yet not clearly defined, for the wealthy or high-status individual to translate his affluence or status into a special kind of political role, as a result of his interactions with and expectations of his fellow area residents. A resident of Perry Township can be familiar with the names and activities of a large portion of the rest of the community. This fact should give us a basic advantage in studying roles and role expectations pertaining to political affairs in the Cory area.

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[11] Ibid., 366.

[12] M. Kent Jennings, The Elites of Atlanta (New York, 1964), p. 15.

III

The hypotheses to be tested in this research project are the following:

1. The majority of Cory area citizens exhibit a role expectation for an economic-political role to be played in their community.
2. The majority of Cory area citizens exhibit a role expectation for a socio-political role to be played in their community.
3. The political elite of the Cory area is mostly made up of individuals playing an economic-political role.
4. The political elite of the Cory area is mostly made up of individuals playing a socio-political role.

"Majority" in hypotheses #1 and #2 will be operationally defined as more than 50% of the citizens. Role theory does not provide any specific percentage of actors in a social unit necessary for establishing a role expectation among them. Hence, we are arbitrarily establishing a role expectation for our purposes if most of the citizens daily believe in the existence of the behavior in question. Furthermore, as a general rule in this project, only the heads of households, 21 years of age or older, were contacted and questioned; in most cases, then, the father of the family was the producer of our data. The data might not be significantly different if all members 29 or older in every family questioned answered the questionnaire to be described below. The tendency of women to follow the political lead of men in their families is well-known, and the opinions of women about the existence of particular roles would perhaps only roughly replicate our findings among the heads of households.[13] One last important reason for questioning only one member of the family lay in the necessity for manageable field methodology.

The aim of the author was to gain the cooperation of virtually the entire Cory area population, since this seemed geographically and technically feasible. This was done with the fact in mind that the usefulness and validity of the data would rise or fall with the degree of response. The "Cory area citizen" includes only those who were contacted and agreed to answer the research questions. As a result of our elongated discussion, we may now define the "Cory area citizen" as the head of a household in Perry Township who was contacted and ultimately participated in the research. Other operational definitions will be supplied in the course of discussing the research methodology below.

IV

Earlier, we defined the political elite as those individuals playing a political role. For the purpose of actual field research, the political elite is operationally defined as the list of community political influentials found in previous research in Cory. This list is approximately one year old. I will work on the assumption that it is not out of date. The name of anyone no longer living in the community has been deleted, as have the few names of people not living in the town and associated with only one past issue (a proposed bird sanctuary) in the area under study. Fifteen individuals remain.[14] They were identified by means of a "reputational-issue technique."[15] Community knowledgeables were interviewed by graduate students as to who would be most influential in particular issue areas, including hypothetical cases involving school reorganization, a proposed nearby interstate highway, and a community water system.[16] The knowlegeables had been arbitrarily chosen for their outstanding knowledge of local affairs. Those doing the field research also arbitrarily limited the size of the community influential list.

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[13] See Angus Campbell and others, The American Voter (New York, 1960), pp. 483-493, esp. 492-3.

In essence, the influential list comprises a group of individuals holding positions to which have been directed certain expectations of behavior. Whether or not the actual role behavior conforms to and fulfills the role expectations of the community knowledgeables on the hypothetical issues cannot be seen from earlier research.[17] Therefore, the "political elite" of the project is qualified as a tentative elite relying entirely on the hopefully perceptive judgement of the community knowledgeables. The most promising alternative method of naming a political elite in Cory would be to combine the extant knowledge of the reputational elite with a study of important issues in the township over a period of time. Such an undertaking exceeds the resources at the author's command, resulting in the use of the reputational elite for this study.

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[14] "Community Influentials identification Numbers," mimeographed, p. 55.

[15] John Fishel, "Modernity, Ideology, and Political Competence in Three Small Towns," mimeographed (February, 1966), p. 16.

[16] "Town Project Codes: Community Leadership Questionnaire," mimeographed (April, 1966), pp. 39-45.

[17] See Nelson W. Polsby, Community Power and Political Theory (New Haven, 1963).

The research questionnaire begins with a brief explanation of the project, i.e., to find out "the ways in which Americans live in a typical small town." Preliminary information requested included name, age, and most importantly, occupation. So that Hollinghead's "Two Factor Index of Social Position" could be referred to for the data analysis to be discussed below, farmers were asked to categorize the value of their farms.[18] Owners of businesses were also asked to evaluate their holdings. The body of the questionnaire contains eight questions, all of which were answered by checking the preferred answer in a set of possibilities. A questionnaire as concise as possible, within the bounds of being able to test the hypotheses, was thought best for the largest response percentage. Many people seemed willing to answer the questions only when they were convinced of their limited number. Also, the questions were "direct" rather than "indirect." The need for conciseness led the author to decide on directness. A longer and more open-ended questionnaire might normally be preferrable. Then, too, personal, in-depth interviewing could be considered more desirable for getting a richer collection of data; the scope of the research eliminated this course of action. The questions and answers are worded in everyday language, though they were designed at the same time to be capable of interpretation through operational definitions in order to be applicable to the hypotheses.

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[18] August B. Hollingshead, "Two Factor Index of Social Position," mimeographed (New Haven, 1965).

In the process of reformulating the approach and hypotheses of this project, some of the questions came to perform only a subsidiary function in the research. They served the purpose of "rounding out" the questionnaire, that is, of making it interesting and understandable as a whole to the respondent. The first and second questions fall into this castrated-question class. The first asks for an indication of the amount of influence that the respondent thinks he has. The second is a follow-up to the first, and it seeks to find out the specific area or areas in which the respondent might say that he has influence. These two questions are not keyed to the hypothetical issues used to identify the reputational elite, and, in effect, measure sense of political efficacy rather than actual influence. Question three is the following:

3. We want to have a good idea of the way in which income and individual wealth is earned in Cory. Please place a check next to your general annual income level.

A.____No personal income to $999
B.____$1000 to $2999
C.____$3000 to $4999
D.____$5000 to $9999
E.____$10,000 to $15,000
F.____$Above $15,000

The income categories listed were adopted from Vanderbok's table on incomes in Cory and neighboring towns. He found that approximately 20% of the Cory area population received $10,000 or more annual income. From his figures, we could project about 30-35 households in the area receiving $10,000 or more. In the project at hand, we have used new income data from the questionnaire. We shall define an individual playing an economic-political role as a person who has an income of $10,000 or more and who holds a place on the list of community political influentials, i.e., who is a member of Cory's political elite.

To complete the explication of definitions for hypothesis #3, we mean by the "political elite" our reputational political elite. Further, the phrase "is mostly made up of" will arbitrarily be equivalent to 80%; that is, 4 out of every 5 people in the political elite must also play economic-political roles for the hypothesis to be accepted as true. The criterion of 4 out of every 5 people appears to the author to reasonably conform to the usual sense of the hypothetical statement "is mostly made up of." The Cory area, of course, refers to Perry Township.

The fourth question on the questionnaire is:

4. Do you think that a person's level of annual income means anything in the degree of "say" or influence that he/she has in the public affairs of the Cory area?

A.____Means a lot if $10,000 or higher
B.____Helps a little if $10,000 or higher
C.____Income doesn't make any difference
D.____Is a disadvantage if high

This question is designed to find out if an economic-political role expectation actually exists in the society of Perry Township. The word "exhibit" in hypothesis #1 means that more than 50% of our respondents said that a level of income $10,000 or higher either means a lot or helps a little in securing political influence. The economic-political role of this hypothesis is defined exactly as the role of hypothesis #3, discussed above. The "role expectation" of hypothesis #1 is either answer "A" or "B" in the last question. An expectation can theoretically vary from high intensity to very low intensity, that is to say in the present research, from an intense expectation that wealth inevitably leads to political power, to a quite low though nevertheless noticeable expectation that wealth often invites and facilitates influential political behavior.[19]

Indeed, it is this last question and its counterpart concerning social status, to be discussed below, which from the central focus of the entire research project. Certainly, it is important to see if the reputational political elite is preponderantly composed of the wealthiest people in the community. However, of primary concern with respect to role theory and reality is the question of whether or not an economic-political role expectation exists. We can find out, subsequently, if the expectations conform to the actual roles which are played in the community. But, one might say, "The role expectation will exist if the related behavior exists, since it is interactional behavior which produces expectations, which in turn produce roles, in the first place; therefore, all you have to do is see if those with high incomes run the political show, and you have also answered your question about the role expectation." The above point ignores the possibility that a role expectation might exist with few, if any, individuals filling it! A glaring example of such an occurrence can be found in Dahl's Who Governs? Apparently, many citizens of New Haven held economic-political role expectations in the issue-area of urban redevelopment, with the opinion being that the job could be done if those with economic power and social standing entered the situation.[20] The mayor formed a Citizens Action Committee on which Economic Notables took a leading part. The Committee was in reality, however, only a "front" for the planning activities of the mayor and his development administrator.[21] The CAC was used to gain public acceptance for what were in fact the proposals of the two executives. The behavior of the Economic and Social Notables did not reflect fulfillment of probable popular role expectations with respect to their positions in the society of New Haven. Similarly, we are seeking to find out if the residents of greater Cory hold in their minds role expectations, i.e., concepts or roles, which conform to reality (in terms of the political elite).

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[19] Gross, and others, p. 60.

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[20] Dahl, pp. 130-7.

[21] Polsby, p. 89.

The fifth question on the questionnaire concerns the length of time the respondent's family has lived in the Cory area; this information, though quite interesting, is no longer directly pertinent to the present research project (of course, it is available for possible future use). The sixth question is:

6. How much schooling were you able to get (check the highest level completed)?

A.____Less than grade school
B.____Grade school
C.____9th grade
D.____High School
E.____College
F.____Other (write in)________________

We are using information from this question, in conjunction with occupational information, in order to employ Hollingshead's "Two Factor Index of Social Position." Both occupation and schooling were scored in linear fashion according to the level attained in each area, as listed and ordered by Hollingshead, with higher positions receiving lower index scores. The occupational scale "is premised upon the assumption that occupations have different values attached to them by the members of our society."[22] The education scale is based "upon the assumption that men and women who possess similar educations will tend to have similar tastes and similar attitudes, and they will also tend to exhibit similar behavior patterns."[23] We are assigning the total score range 11 (lowest possible score, highest possible status) through 27 as designating Cory's upper class or elite. The index scores for each individual relative to his occupation and education were multiplied by factor weights of 7 for occupation and 4 for education, respectively, to arrive at that person's "index of social position" score.[24]

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[22] Hollingshead, p. 8.

With respect to the upper-class score range listed above, Hollingshead says that "meaningful breaks for the purpose of predicting social class position" are to be found in this range.[25] Considering the fact that he lists occupations from the most prestigious to the most meager, it does not seem unrealistic to expect that the Cory area's social elite can be subsumed and described within Hollinghead's upper-status classes. For example, a farmer whose farm is valued at $35,000-100,000 and who has a college degree would score 22 and be a member of Cory's social elite.

The term "social Class" is theoretically associated here with a sense of social-group identification on the part of individuals involved in the research project. We will go no further in defining the term or clearly classifying levels of class-feeling intensity, as this would lead us into much more complex undertakings than our present purposes warrant.[26] A resident of the Cory area playing a socio-economic role (hypothesis #4) may at this point be operationally defined as one who belongs to Perry Township's social elite, as described above, and who is also a member of Cory's political elite. With respect to the remainder of hypothesis #4, the "political elite" is equivalent to the reputational political elite, and "is mostly made up of" again means 80%.

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[23] Ibid., p. 9

[24] Ibid., pp. 9-10.

[25] Ibid., p. 10.

The seventh question requests self-identification of social class; its present purpose is to orient the respondent to the meaning of terms in the eighth question, which concludes the questionnaire, and which is:

> 8. Do you think that a person's social class means anything in the degree of say or influence that he/she has in the Cory area's public affairs?
>
> A.____Means a lot; higher the better
> B.____Helps a little if upper class
> C.____Social class doesn't make any difference
> D.____Is a disadvantage if upper class

It would have been substantially problematic to explain Hollingshead's "Two Factor Index" to all of those responding. Consequently, we have had to operate on the methodological assumption that our meaning of upper class satisfactorily matches that of the respondents. Fortunately, the vast majority of Americans are capable of thinking and talking about class, and in questioning the Cory residents, I have made it a point to indirectly talk about my method of measuring social class.[27]

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[26] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

Including in our consideration, then, the difficulties of clearly conceptualizing social class in adequate scientific fashion, we are still attempting to find out if expectations of a socio-political role are to be found in greater Cory. In hypothesis #2, "exhibit" means that more than 50% of those answering agreed that social class helps a person to attain social power to some degree. The "role expectation" of hypothesis #2 is defined as answer "A" or "B" in the eighth question. A socio-political role is defined exactly as above. As in the case of economic-political role expectations and actual role behavior, we are greatly interested in seeing if the socio-political role expectation exists, initially apart from, though subsequently in relation to, the question of its behavioral fulfillment.

V

We turn now to the research findings relative to hypothesis #1. Table 1 displays the results. Thirty-seven family spokesmen did "exhibit a role expectation for an economic-political role to be played in their community." On the other hand, thirty family spokesmen (i.e., heads of households) did not exhibit this role expectation in the interview questionnaire. That is to say, 55% of the Cory population which was surveyed believed that personal wealth or level of income plays a definite part in deciding who does or does not possess political influence in the local politics of Perry Township.

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[27] Ibid., p. 348.

TABLE 1. Expectations of en Economic-political Role

	Per cent	Number
Held Role Expectation	55%	37
Role Expectation Absent	45%	30
Total Cases	100%	67

Hypothesis #1 is tentatively accepted as a result of the findings. The principal drawback in the outcome is the rather low response to the questionnaire given by the Cory area population. This factor will be discussed after we examine our research results. For the moment, though, we observe that the predominant opinion in the minds of Coryites was that having money ties in with success in gaining and maintaining political influence. The opinion is not overwhelmingly subscribed to, to say the least, with an unmonolithic majority voicing support for the hypothesis.

The findings of the first hypothesis suggest that the oft-heard ideal that Americans believe that political office can be attained by anyone with native ability to do the job does not prevail among the majority of a somewhat typical American rural society. Perry Township represents a stable social grouping, in which much time is allowed for common national ideas to filter through and ferment. Approximately one quarter of the population surveyed had lived in Perry Township for more than one hundred years. Even within a setting of American lifelong lived by the residents of Perry Township, Indiana, it seems that monetary wealth is a very real part of participation in American politics. Apparently, a substantial degree of financial success is considered by a majority of the citizens (as represented by the resultant sample of the population interviewed) to be a prerequisite for success in local politics.

Inspecting the data relative to the second hypothesis, that "the majority of Cory area citizens exhibit a role expectation for a socio-political role to be played in their community," we find that the hypothesis can tentatively be confirmed as true, in a firmer manner than was our first hypothesis. Forty-five family spokesmen said they believed that upper-class status, as defined in the minds and on-going, day-to-day discussion of community members, does have a positive, bolstering effect on an individual's opportunity to wield political influence in Perry Township. Twenty-two respondents declared that a person's social class, relative to local political activity, either made no difference or was detrimental to the individual if he were considered "upper class." Thus, hypothesis #2 was supported by 67% of our respondents.

TABLE 2. Expectations of a Socio-political Role

	Per cent	Number
Held Role Expectation	67%	45
Role Expectation Absent	33%	22
Total Cases	100%	67

This last array of responses, contrasted with those of our first hypothesis, perhaps should not be as surprising as they might at first appear to be. The author could discover no one having a very large personal income or accumulated fortune in the Cory area. Consequently, if the Perry Township citizens were to use either money or social class as a supplementary guidepost, or indicant, for potential or actual political leadership, social class rather than personal wealth might very well be the characteristic more readily recognized by the people. For example, those owning the largest farms, or the only prosperous commercial orchard, or the principal feed-grain business are conspicuous and well-known personalities.

Similarly, those with educations beyond the high-school level are few indeed, and in the relatively small-group, personalized society of the Cory area, the academic accomplishments of the latter are probably common knowledge. Some explanation, then, may be found for the additional 12% of our respondents who held a socio-political role expectation, in contrast to those interviewed about an economic-political role expectation.

We should take note that, in the case of social class, another old American myth is somewhat undermined. Though Americans often see themselves as believing that the country has a relatively undifferentiated social-class structure, the citizens of an area recalling the rural makeup of an earlier, Northern white America do not themselves, it appears, uphold the myth of political egalitarian in their own township. The respondents in the Cory area do, indeed, profess the belief that their township political system functions through the mechanism of a socially delineated set of leaders and a socially differentiated group of those led. Not everyone is believed to have an equal opportunity to wield political influence in Perry Township politics; and, as far as the present research can discover, social class constitutes the most conspicuous, designated qualification surrounding such activity.

Do the above role expectations conform to actual roles played in the political society of Perry Township? This question leads to a study of the survey results concerning hypotheses #3 and #4. First of all, is the political elite, as we have defined it, mostly made up of individuals playing an economic-political role? From our Cory data, we may tentatively answer "No." Of the 15 members of the political elite, ten were interviewed. The remaining five either could not be reached on the author's Saturday trips to Cory throughout the summer of 1966 (3 cases), or they refused to answer the questionnaire (2 cases). Of the ten who answered, exactly half responded that they earned $10,000 or more in annual income; they thereby are considered as playing an economic-political role. Earlier, we stated that if 80% or more of the political elite earned $10,000 or more, we could accept hypothesis #3. Since five of the elite did not have the minimum income for an economic-political role, at most (i.e., if all fifteen had answered the questionnaire), only 66% could have qualified for such a role. Consequently, in the light of our research information, we reject the hypothesis.

TABLE 3. The Political Elite and Economic-political Role Players

	Political Elite		All Respondents	
	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number
Earning $10,000 or more	50%	5	24%	16
Total Cases	100%	10	100%	67

Notwithstanding our disconfirmation of hypothesis #3, the opinions and role expectations of the Cory-area population should not be dismissed as wholly diverging from reality. For, although the part of the political elite interviewed is not "mostly made up of" the wealthiest people in the township, 16 out of the 67 individuals interviewed put themselves into the $10,000 or above class -- just under 24% of the survey population in this study. The political elite members surveyed had a disproportionate share of the community's high-income people, in fact, twice the share that we would expect by chance if there were no relationship between the factors of political-elite membership and high personal wealth. There exists a definite tendency for those who are among the political elite to also fulfill an economic-political role, at least within the bounds of our data. Thus, some slight justification has been uncovered for explaining the role expectation exhibited by most of the Coryites questioned in this survey research project. Whether or not wealth actually does help one to gain political power in a directly causal way is a question that still remains for additional investigation. Moreover, the predictive worth of the Cory findings, in terms of generalized propositions, can only be substantiated by much further research and comparative study in areas demographically similar to Perry Township.

The fourth hypothesis stated that "the political elite of the Cory area is mostly made up of individuals playing a socio-political role." Following the conditions set down previously for membership in the Cory area's upper class, we would reject this hypothesis. Only two members of the responding political elite qualified for membership in the upper social class of our study, while we required that at least 80% of the elite -- i.e., at the minimum, twelve members -- must have attained such a position. In particular, no more than seven members of the political elite could possible have been classed in the highest social stratum (supposing that all fifteen members had been interviewed), since eight out of the fifteen political elitists did not qualify. This outcome is particularly surprising at first glance, especially when it is added that, in initially deciding upper-class criteria, we liberally defined our upper class to encompass the top two out of five social classes in Hollingshead's "Two Factor Index of Social Position."

TABLE 4. The Political Elite and Socio-political Role Players

	Political Elite		All Respondents	
	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number
Upper Class	20%	2	10%	7
Total Cases	100%	10	100%	67

An examination of table 4 shows that seven Cory area citizens qualified for the upper class category. As a result, eight out of ten persons in the political elite could not conceivably have belonged to the upper social stratum in any event, since the total number of upper-class respondents were only seven. Hypothesis #4 is, therefore, practically meaningless; it had to be false. Perhaps, other persons not interviewed and living in Perry Township might have been classified as upper class, thereby making it logically possible to empirically test the hypothesis in a way in which it could conceivably be true. Nevertheless, working with the data and operational definitions of this project, we must reject the hypothesis from the beginning.

However, a somewhat meaningful analysis of the overall results relative to the fourth hypothesis can be made, in terms of what we did discover, and in the light of the particular social environment in which this study was made. In the first place, the two persons who were designated as playing a socio-political role are college graduates. A college education was a critical factor in the social status scale which we utilized, and the only members of our political elite who were interviewed and who went to college were, in fact, the two socio-political role players. The remaining eight political elitists did not hold jobs or own commercial enterprises of an adequately prestigious nature to overcome their lower-level educations (in all cases, high school), and thereby manage to be categorized in the upper social class. The importance of education for high social position is underlined by the fact that all seven of those in the upper class in Cory graduated from college. Four were teachers, and one a prosperous insurance salesman. One of the two in the political elite was the owner and operator of a large farm, and the other was a minister.

Secondly, certain economic and sociological characteristics of the Perry Township society appear to be influential in preventing any extensive growth of a viable, upper social class. The area is mainly agricultural. The town of Cory, according to older residents, has been physically and commercially deteriorating for many decades. At this time, only a few small stores and feed grain establishments constitute the business life of the community. The skills involved in making a living in Perry Township seemingly require neither higher education nor socially prestigious occupations. Hence, a large upper class is absent. In summary, then, we may be able to find some valid explanation for the lack of a large number of socio-political role players by referring to these last considerations.

Previously, we indicated the need to consider the degree of response to the survey questionnaire before ending this paper. The original aim of the project was to interview all of the residents of Perry Township. Of course, some refusals and people impossible to contact within the research period were anticipated. Yet, the total response did not surpass 25-30% of the approximately 250 households in the township, with a refusal to answer being the principal explanation for those who were not interviewed. People living outside the town of Cory agreed to answer the questionnaire (which the author administered aloud to each respondent) at a greater relative frequency than did those living within the town.

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This could reflect the fact that many families located outside Cory had not been contacted by university researchers in the recent past, while most Coryites had been requested to participate in survey research projects at about the same time as the present research was being conducted. On a purely impressionistic level, the author did notice a generally pervasive suspicion about the purposes or worthwhileness of another survey questionnaire in Cory; rarely was this the case in outlying areas, where the reception was usually more friendly and responsive toward participating in the project.

In effect, our data consists of certain characteristics taken from a sample of the Cory area household heads, rather than from the entire population of households. Obviously, the sample is not a scientifically chosen random sample. We have, instead, a haphazard sample of the households in Perry Township. However, there is no necessity for classifying our conslusions as worthless. The 67 respondents do represent a cross-section of the Perry Township residents. They are the result of traveling every road and knocking on every door that this researcher could find, while using a post office listing of Perry Township houses for reference. They are, indeed, a representative sample of attitudes and demographic data from respondents in all parts of the township. Nevertheless, one should keep in mind that the sample did not result from a strictly scientific, random sampling method of survey research.

With the above important qualification in mind, the conclusions of this paper concerning the four hypotheses tested may be accepted. But, as we have stated throughout the paper, these conclusions should be accepted only tentatively, and as suggestive of the conclusions which would probably be obtained in further, replicating research in Perry Township or in places demographically similar to Perry Township. Moreover, in order to make generalizations about political role expectations and role playing throughout the United States, large quantities of survey research are called for in urban, suburban and rural parts of the country.

Dale A. Krane 6

ACCEPTANCE AND ENDORSEMENT
IN RURAL VILLAGES

A Research Study into the Structure of Diffuse Support in Small Political Systems

I. Statement of the Problem:

At the present time, the bulk of the literature devoted to understanding the political process in the urban setting has quite naturally concerned itself with the relations between The Rulers and the Ruled.[1] However, the investigations of this relationship have clustered around the narrow focus of Who Governs?.[2] Invariably, the answer to this question turns out to be a Community Power Structure[3] composed of actors who wield Political Influence[4] because of their Class, Status, and Power.[5] If one takes a systemic view of politics, one can demonstrate that the community power studies concern themselves with only parts of the total political system, in particular outputs and demands.

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[1] Robert E. Agger, Daniel Goldrich, and Bert E. Swanson, The Rulers and the Ruled: Political Power and Impotence in American Communities (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1964).

[2] Robert A. Dahl, Who Governs? (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961).

[3] Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953).

[4] Edward C. Banfield, Political Influence (New York: The Free Press, 1961).

[5] Reinhard Bendix, and Seymour M. Lipset, eds. Class, Status and Power (Glencoe, Ill: Free Press, 1953).

Even though it is an equally important member of the systemic triumvirate, support has been a less frequent topic of study in the urban literature. Urbanists have not completely skipped over this concept; rather they have tended to assume that the decision-making regime and its members possess enough support for adequate functioning. That is, for analytic purposes, many community power studies seem to hold support constant. Unfortunately, because support has been controlled in the process of discovering knowledge about power, elites, and decision-making, few theoretically important insights about support have appeared as a result of the growing field of urban politics. It is one minor goal of this report to note this lacuna and perhaps begin a new path into the maze of urban political understanding.

First, before going on, I should like to set forth what I am not going to do. A new definition of support, an exhaustive classification of its sources, or a complex psychoanalytic model of community support will not be forthcoming from this modest monograph. Instead I propose to address myself to examining a real life situation which apparently has consequences for the type of support attitudes held by the members of certain political collectivities. Simply, I have data on two political systems which exhibit a distinct difference in one of these social patterns. From this, my general hypothesis is: A difference in support is a function of the differences in social patterns between communities. It should be emphasized here that this speculative hypothesis serves only as an orienting hunch; more specific, and hopefully testable, hypotheses will be enumerated later in this paper.

Second, many theoretical works in the social sciences begin with an elaborate general theory, and then condescend to the experimental level in an effort to unite theory and fact. Often, this chasm between generalizations and specifics is never successfully bridged. On partial explanation for this shortcoming rests on the fact that the gossamer of proposed theory can hardly buttress the weight of the researchers crossing the chasm to the empirical facts. As an alternative method to bridging this gap with webs of abstract thought, a slower but surer strategy might consist of throwing the rocks of fact into the canyon until it is filled, thus permitting all to cross safely to theory. For many impatient theorists, this technique is not appealing, and even seems to be crude and primitive. However, in any discipline which is only pre-scientific, as political science is presently, even crude, primitive methods may provide information at the exploratory stage. That is, with no conclusively established routines such as possessed by physics or chemistry or even economics, researchers in political science should be encouraged to devise a variety of methods in the hope that the wheat and the chaff will eventually be separated. In this light then, I wish to begin this research project with a narrative of the given facts surrounding the fieldsite, followed by a theoretical framework, and finally I wish to propose and undertake an experiment.

II. The Existing Real Life Situation:

The field site consists of two rural villages in West-Central Indiana located in adjoining townships of the same county. This permits the researcher to conceive of each as a different political system, but yet benefit from the many similarities that exist in each community. Both towns are surrounded by farmland and rely on service to farmers as a major source of existence. Each town shares essentially the same dominant economic and political ideology, and the same dominant "Hoosier" image and way of life. With all these similarities, a question of differences may appear out of place. Yet, just as no two individuals even in the same family are totally alike, two rural villages in the same county can exhibit enough differences in a number of variables which thus serve as clues to any observable differences in behavior.

The particular variable examined in this report which evidences itself in a difference of social patterns between the two towns is the location of the high school attended by the adolescents of each community. School consolidation has over the last seven years been a highly salient issue in each village. During the researcher's initial introduction to the Townsite, a curiosity over the effect of the high school's location on the consolidation issue began to develop. In one village (Center Point), students travel eleven miles each day to the county seat (Brazil) to attend a medium-sized urban high school; while in Cory, the teenagers remain in town and attend a very small township school. Thus, the span of experience and the sociometric contact of one group of students and parents is extremely limited to their own relatively homogeneous community. Antithetically, the other set of students and parents are required by the school situation to expand the scope of their concern beyond their own community and embrace an area which potentially contains attitudes and values which may be in conflict to the village's norms and values.

It is this actual difference in educational patterns which the researcher hopes to attach to differences in support which are found to exist between these communities.

III. Theoretical Framework:

Having provided a brief glimpse at the existing situation in the field site, the following theoretical framework should possess somewhat more relevance to the problem than the ordinary speculations of much political literature which fail to integrate fact and theory. Up to this point, I have been employing such terms as support, political system, social patterns, and the like indiscriminately. As mentioned earlier, because this is an exploratory project, I will not propose definitive explanations of all of the concepts utilized. Instead, my purpose will be served if some of the ambiguities surrounding these terms are classified or removed.

Briefly, support may be conceived of as a differentiated action willingly expressed by the members of the society to the polity whether through compulsion, rational decision, simple habit, or even indifference. A society can benefit from conflict, but only up to the point at which the tradeoff between conflict and support becomes dysfunctional for the system. Hence, it is difficult to imagine a society that could long cohere without being able to secure or depend upon the support, cooperation, or compliance of its members.[6]

Perhaps the most extensive theoretical statement incorporating all aspects of support into a general theory of politics can be found in David Easton's A Systems Analysis of Political Life. To go into great detail over the substantive content of Easton's work would be an unnecessarily long and complicated task. I simply prefer to present the following quick summary in order to call attention to the fact that systems analysis is one of the possible rubrics under which research about support can proceed.

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[6] William G. Mitchell, The American Polity (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1962), p. 16.

Regime support can arbitrarily be classified into two categories: (1) specific support, which flows from the favorable attitudes and predispositions stimulated by outputs that are perceived by members to meet their demands as they arise or are anticipated; (2) diffuse support, which is a reservoir of favorable attitudes or good will toward the regime possessed by the members and independent of the effects of daily outputs.[7] This exploratory study is concerned with the latter of these phenomena. The regime does not pay for diffuse support through, more or less, tangible goods and services; rather, the outputs of the regime which beget diffuse support tend to be psychic or symbolic. Or as Robert E. Lane states:

> A person may have a set of experiences in society that, while not really relevant to the political order, nevertheless create for him a general sense of satisfaction that leads him to accept and endorse the political system of his society.[8]

Thus, diffuse support would appear to be as essential for system maintenance as specific support.

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[7] David Easton, A Systems Analysis of Political Life (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1965), p. 273.

[8] Robert E. Lane, Political Ideology (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1962), pp. 91-92.

The key words from the preceding brief explanation of support which the researcher directly concerns himself with in this report appear in the quotation from Lane--"accept and endorse the political system of his society." Earlier, I proposed a general speculative hypothesis grounded on the actual situation occurring in the field site. Narrowing this generalized statement somewhat, I now wish to substitute the concepts of acceptance and endorsement for the more abstract notion of support. Thus, the new tentative hypothesis reads: A difference in the acceptance and endorsement of a political system is a function of differences in the social patterns.

With the birth of this new theoretical statement, the researcher becomes entangled in the problem of methodology. Acceptance and endorsement are behavioral forms which pose immense obstacles to measurement due to their psychic and symbolic nature. The only recourse open is to search for research strategies and theories of psychic phenomena which can lead to some meaningful technique of studying acceptance and endorsement. Obviously, the place to begin the search is in the literature of psychology and social psychology.

After only a short journey through attitude studies, one discovers that there exists an amazing number of definitions, models, theories, and methodologies which in some way are relevant to the present problem. To condense all this material and present it here would be an insult to the material itself and is quite unnecessary. By taking an eclectic approach to this problem, I will now set forth the more important segments of the theoretical base which is required for this attitude study and ignore many of the unsolved problems with which psychology is presently wrestling. Admittedly, this is not the epitome of scientific technique but in an exploratory project, the bending of rigid rules often becomes necessary to shed light on difficult subjects.

The first relaxations of scientific method in this report follows from the researcher's view that one can accept as fact that people hold opinions and attitudes and that these are analytically distinguishable categories. Having avoided the dangerous problem of choosing definitions for opinion and attitude from among the vast number available by postulating they are different entities, the next step in the theoretical background necessary for examining attitudes involves the question of the structuring of attitudes in the psychological system of the individual. If one conceives of the individual in Lewinian terms, the can relate the various aspects of a person's belief--system to the different regions of the "person" in Lewin's theory.[9] For example, taking a quite well-known and actually fairly representative theory of how attitudes are structured, one can relate Eysenck's attitude construct to Lewin's field theory.[10] That is, "specific opinions" and "habitual opinions" can be conceptualized as arising from the "peripheral cells of the inner-personal region," while attitudes flow from the "central cells of the inner-personal region." Given this type of structuring of attitudes which resembles

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[9] Calvin S. Hall, and Gardner Lindney, Theories of Personality (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1957), pp. 252-260.

[10] H. J. Eysenck, The Psychology of Politics (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1954), p. 112.

Cattell's "dynamic lattices,"[11] the problem of measuring attitudes can be reduced to the task of probing the various facets of these different personality levels. Hence, the type research tool utilized will be a function of the personality (attitude) level tapped. Because of the researcher's lack of sophistication in regards to psychological experimentation, the personality level which this formulative study focuses on is the habitual opinion level. Hopefully, the instrument employed will also delve into the attitude level.

Research into collective attitudes not only must specify the particular personality plane to be examined, but the research must also specify which of the numerous facets of opinion are to be considered. Depending on the preferences of the reader, a list of the dimensions of verbal expression can extend in length from a number as small as three to something like fifteen or even twenty or thirty. Among these various facets, we find: structure, content, function, scope, source, style, saliency, object value, focus, orientation, policy stand, etc. For this particular project, the single variable source appears to be the most appropriate given the previously noted difference in the pattern of education in the two political units. It should be emphasized that in studying source--the external and/or internal origins of the given attitude--that I am concentrating strictly on external sources, and only on one specific external source--the high schools which are a component of each community's psychological environment.

Now that the basic theoretical outline on attitudes is established, the final task remaining to this section is the further narrowing of the orienting hypothesis. The first alteration in this guiding statement dealt with modifying the subject, whereas the second change will now alter the predicate of the hypothesis. The final generalized hypothesis with which this exploratory project concerns itself states that: A difference in the acceptance and endorsement of a political system is a function of the differences in the external sources of the attitudes which constitute the diffuse support given to the system by its members.

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[11] Hall and Lindzey, p. 404.

IV. Original Research Design:

In order to empirically test the orienting hypothesis, a fairly ambitious and sweeping series of interviews to be conducted in the two communities under question were devised as the appropriate means by which to provide the data necessary for the project. Of course, before developing the instruments, the researcher had to design a set of research hypotheses which he felt would indicate the operation of the external source of attitudes in these two communities. The following list outlines the original research hypotheses:

1. Both groups of adolescents would differ in attitudes from their respective parental groups.

2. Adolescents from Center Point would hold more heterogeneous attitudes than adolescents from Cory.

3. Adults in Center Point would hold more heterogeneous attitudes than adults in Cory.

The above set of hypotheses call to immediate attention two very real problems: (1) the tapping of attitudes, and (2) the researcher's ability, given the time allotted to the project, to complete the assignment. Since this first problem is encountered again during the discussion of the modified research design, I prefer to hold this problem until then. Considering the population to be interviewed, the researcher felt that some time spent in the field site acquainting himself with the inhabitants and their situation would not only indicate the extent to which this research design could be realized, but would also indicate the type of instrument best suited for probing the attitudes and opinions prevalent in this rural area. An information node in the field site who was extremely helpful in answering the above questions was Reverend Wright, the Methodist minister of Cory. His support of my conviction that diffuse opinions could be tapped given the proper wording of an instrument strengthened my desire to carry out the project. However, the enthusiasm engendered by these supportive comments about the original research design was soon quashed by the occupational problems facing the farmers in late April and early May 1966. At this particular time of the year due to the whims of the weather, the beginning of my research project coincided with the beginning of the six to eight week period which farmers generally need to plant crops. As people with rural backgrounds understand, the planting season like the harvest season requires the farmer to devote sixty to seventy hours a week in his fields. Complicating this problem even further is the general habit that all members of the family participate in this work to their fullest extent. Since the project had a late Spring deadline attached to it, this required the research to complete the field work before the end of the planting season. In order to produce some relevant data during the time available, a decision was made with the aid and comfort of Reverend Wright which produced an outcome of modifying the original research design by eliminating those hypotheses which posed speculations about the attitudes of the adults. This left the project with the problem of investigating attitude differences between the adolescents of the two communities.

V. Modified Research Design:

This formulative investigation into the operation of a difference in external sources as they affect community belief--systems reduces itself to considering the following hypothesis:

Adolescents from Center Point will hold more heterogeneous attitudes than adolescents from Cory.

Upon stating this hypothesis, three problems which demand solution emerge. Defining the ambiguous terms in the hypothesis, explication of the specific techniques utilized, and finally, an assessment of the instrument as to its ability to provide the required information.

The first problem revolves around the definition of the term "heterogeneous attitudes." Having already taken the concept attitude as a postulate, one may identify any of a number of excellent definitions of attitude with the concept's use in this project. For example, Allport's classic statement is completely acceptable:

> An attitude is a mental state of readiness organized through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related.[12]

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[12] Eysenck, p. 13.

The term heterogeneous is somewhat more slippery. Here I intend to imply that the teen-agers of Center Point will hold a greater diversity of opinion concerning various political topics which encompass acceptance and endorsement of the American political system and the adolescents' hometown political system.

A three-part interview was devised in an attempt to measure the the existence of the hypothesized heterogeneity of opinion. The largest part of the research instrument was composed of an abridged form of the questionnaire that Herbert McClosky presents in his article Consensus and Ideology in American Politics. (The actual research instrument appears in the Appendix.) Here is McClosky's own description of his questionnaire:

> A lengthy instrument containing questions on personal background, political experience, values, attitudes, opinions, political and economic orientation, party outlooks, and personality characteristics. Many of the questions were direct inquiries in the standard form, but most were single sentence "items" with which the respondent was compelled to express his agreement or disagreement. While each of these items can stand alone and be regarded in its own right as an indication of a person's opinions or attitudes, each of them is simultaneously an integral element of one of 47 "scales" that was expressly fashioned to afford a more refined and reliable assessment of the attitude and personality predispositions of every respondent. Each of the scales has been independently validated either by empirical validation procedures employing appropriate criterion groups, or by a modified Guttman reproducibility procedure.[13]

Since my project was concerned with exploring acceptance and endorsement, the abridgement concentrated on utilizing the McClosky "scales" on the following topics: (1) "rules of the game." (2) support of free speech and opinion, (3) support for specific applications of free speech and procedural rights, (4) belief in equality, (5) cynicism toward government and politics, and (6) a sense of political futility. Each item under these topics embodies what McClosky terms the "American democratic ideology." Agreement or disagreement with this "ideology" should provide a crude measure of the subjects' acceptance and endorsement of the basic tenets of his political system.

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[13] Herbert McClosky, "Consensus and Ideology in American Politics," The American Political Science Review (June, 1964), pp. 361-382.

In an attempt to move from the more specific opinion level to the subject's more diffuse attitudes Samuel A. Stouffer's index "Willingness to Tolerate nonconformists" was incorporated as part of the research instrument. This index measures the degree to which individuals respect the civil rights of radicals and other nonconformists, even though they may suspect or disapprove of their opinions. Essentially, it is a Guttman-type scale consisting of fifteen items grouped into five subsets of three items each. Each item is answered as a positive-negative dichotomy, with a possible choice of "Don't know." These are scored + or - . The items are so chosen that a person "tolerant" on a subset in which few other people would be tolerant is also very likely to be so in a subset on which many other people would be "tolerant."[14] Use of Stouffer's index was predicated on the hope that it could tap larger sentiments of tolerance as a value than could McClosky's various scales. Tolerance, of course, indicating the extent to which diversity of opinion exists as a value for each group of adolescents.

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[14] Samuel A. Stouffer, "Willingness to Tolerate Nonconformists," Handbook of Research Design and Social Measurement, by Delbert C. Miller (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1964), pp. 264-267.

Finally, the research instrument included a four question open-ended ranking of various topics. Here the subjects were asked to provide the researcher with a rank along a semantic differential scale of the following topics: (1) America as a way of life, (2) the subject's home town as a way of life, (3) the American political system as a form of government, and (4) the subject's home town political system as a form of government. This fragile set of questions was experimented within an effort to probe some deeper sentiments on the subject's attitude lattice. In fact, these four questions can most likely be eliminated from the instrument without effecting its efficiency. However, it should be noted that this set of questions caused the subjects more consternation and effort in their attempt to provide what they considered was the correct ranking. This leads the researcher to conclude that either the open-ended questions were unclear or they, in fact, probed deeper into the attitude structure. For this project, I am assuming the latter possibility.

Before concluding this section on research design, a pause to assess the validity of the instrument is called for. Though no validity ranking is given for Stouffer's scale, its coefficient of reliability is .96. In addition to this, the researcher previously utilized this particular scale in another research program and found that the results coincided with a variety of tests which all measured tolerance from different perspectives. From this, one can conclude that Stouffer's index is a useful device for measuring a slippery variable. McClosky's article does not present the reader with any indications of the validity or reliability of his scales. However, he does refer the reader to other various attitude studies which he claims affirm the results he has obtained. For example, McClosky cites the similarity between his work and Angus Campbell's in The Voter Decides and Agger's work in Political Cynicism: Measurement and Meaning. Here again one can only conclude that McClosky's instrument probably measures specific opinions validly on various political topics. One objection to it is its agreement-disagreement dichotomy which leaves no room for intensity measurement, a key factor in comparing populations. Finally, the open-ended semantic differential is undoubtedly so entangled in extraneous variables that its results can only be considered as spurious. However, it should be repeated that the researcher feels that these four questions may have burrowed deeper into the subjects' attitudes than the more tried and tested indices. Over-all, one can feel some confidence and security that the research instrument used in this attitude exploration does explore the attitudes of the respondents with a modicum of reliability and validity.

VI. The Results:

After the questionnaire had been administered, the problem of applying the responses obtained to the hypothesis emerged. McClosky, in his article, sought a difference in responses between political elite and political electorate. In this project, the research, as previously pointed out, concerns itself with two quite similar groups, who may have measurable differences of opinion. Thus, the data must be arranged to cope with both the possibility of a significant difference between the groups or the possibility of no difference. To overcome this problem, the researcher devised a scale which organizes the responses into zones of agreement (expressed in per cent agree).

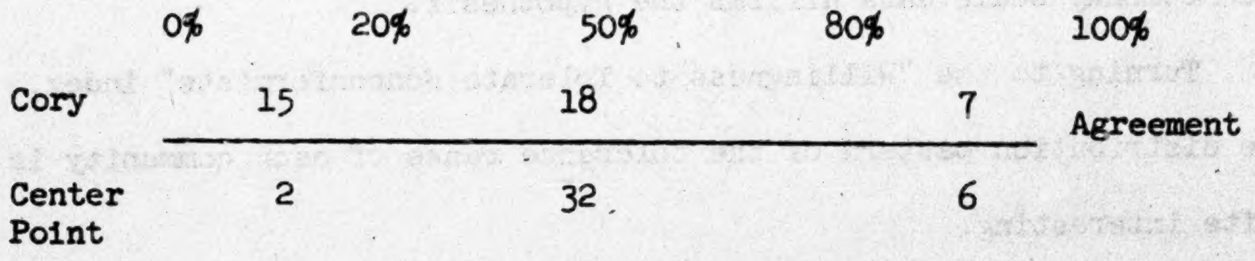

Figure 1. Agreement Continuum

By examining the above continuum, one immediately notes that slightly more than half (55%) of all responses from the Cory students fall into the zones of extreme agreement or disagreement. That is, on at least half of the questions, a majority of the Coryites hold the same views. For the Center Point students, the reverse is true. Only twenty per cent of the questions produce an extreme congregation of opinion among the Center Point adolescents. Applying a difference of proportions test, the difference between the two communities is statistically significant at the .005 level.[15] If we relate this statistical result to the hypothesis proposed in the modified research design, we can conclude that the evidence supports the assumption. Simply, the statistics tell us that only on two questions in ten will the Center Point students cluster together into a significantly large majority opinion. Their more natural tendency is to produce a range of agreement on an item from twenty per cent to eighty per cent. If the reader will refer to the

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[15] Since I have obtained the total population of senior high school students living within the city limits of each community, statistical inference is actually unnecessary for comparing each community. This statistical result can be used to generalize the data to a larger population of similar rural villages.

Appendix, he will find that on four out of six topics, the Center Point students possess an average mean agreement of .4493 versus the average mean agreement for Cory of .3289. Thus, it appears that the McClosky scale data affirms the hypothesis.

Turning to the "Willingness to Tolerate Nonconformists" index, the distribution pattern of the tolerance ranks of each community is quite interesting.

TABLE 1. TOLERANCE IN TWO RURAL VILLAGES

	Group	Center Point	Cory
High Tolerance	V	6	6
	IV	2	
	III	4	3
	II		
Low Tolerance	I		1

For both town, six subjects appear in the most tolerant group. After this, however, a striking difference occurs. The remaining Center Point students cluster themselves in the next two relatively tolerant groups. On the other hand, we see that the remaining Coryites have spread themselves into two disjunctive and relatively intolerant groups. If the clusters for the two towns were on the predicted opposite poles of the tolerance continuum, the Stouffer index results would dovetail beautifully with the McClosky scale. Since this is not the case, the determining factor as to the information the Stouffer test supplies becomes the distribution of the variant rather than the dominant values in each town. Noting that the minority opinion in Center Point is relatively more tolerant than the minority opinion in Cory, the researcher can only conclude the obvious--Center Point adolescents are relatively more tolerant of nonconformity than the Cory adolescents. Hence, the Stouffer index does little to strengthen the hypothesis, however, it also fails to injure the hypothesis in a significant manner.

Finally, the results of the open-ended ranking present the most puzzling of all the data collected.

TABLE 2. OPEN-ENDED RANKING OF AMERICA AND SUBJECTS' HOMETOWN AS POLITICAL SYSTEMS AND WAYS OF LIFE

Topic	$\bar{X}$ Center Point	$\bar{X}$ Cory	Significance Level
1. American way of life	5.4	6.3	$.1 < p < .05$
2. Home town way of life	3.9	5.0	$.1 < p < .05$
3. American political system	5.75	6.7	$.05 < p < .02$
4. Home town political system	3.5	3.6	N.S.

One's immediate reaction to this semantic differential ranking leads to the conclusion that again the data has not strongly supported the hypothesis, yet it also tends not to destroy the hypothesis or lead to to accepting an alternative position. This ambiguous situation is reflected by the tendency of the Cory rankings to be almost significantly more extreme in the first three categories than the Center Point opinions. That is, even though the mean rankings of each group are all at the midpoint or above in the direction of "best" (7.0), one finds the Cory students clustered more often near the high scores versus the Center Point students who tend to congregate at a point approximately one unit above the scale's midpoint, 3.5. Being very rigorous, the results tend to be suggestive because of their nearness to significance, yet they do not provide secure confirmation of the hypothesis.

Overall then, only the McClosky scale which comprised forty out of the fifty-nine items on the instrument has provided supportive data for the hypothesis. Both the Stouffer index and the open-ended ranking technique suggest that the results obtained on the level which the McClosky scale taps also tend to operate on some of the deeper levels of the subject's personality structures. These results are admittedly not spectacular, yet the researcher feels that the indications of the data merit further study, for the information obtained has apparently discovered some difference actually exists between the members of each collectivity. What is lacking from this study perhaps is a measure of the intensity of the attitudes which would conceivably provide a more meaningful quantification of any difference that does exist between the two groups studied. This would require the application of extremely sophisticated psychoanalytic techniques, which the researcher is totally unprepared at present to administer.

VII. Implications:

Having reviewed the statistical results of the project's efforts in the field site, a return to the main thrust of this work appears in order. The general area of research pursued delves into the nature of diffuse support provided to two political systems by their members. Specifically, the focus of the research has concentrated on the differences in support produced by a difference in the external sources of the attitudes which compose the diffuse support emitted by the members of each polity. Measured in terms of attitude differences, the quantified data produces some interesting conclusions, facts, and questions which are derivable from the more abstract theoretical framework. Providing an outline of these theoretical implications is the final task of this paper.

Given the assumption that the research instrument has provided data with some level scientific validity, one major theoretical fact which can be formulated is as follows: Contiguous political systems can exhibit significant differences in the structure of support opinions and attitudes, even though they exist within a larger, dominating regional or national environment. This structuring of opinions is so sharply different that one may almost draw an analogy from these two towns to the individuals Rokeach studies in his The Open and Closed Mind. Among the numerous characteristics of each of these polar types, the "closed" mind is distinguished by intolerance and resistance to new ideas from the external environment, while the "open" mind tends to have a greater tolerance and a more permeable boundary between the inner-personal region and the psychological environment.[16] Returning this analogy to the field site, one readily understands how differences in attitude structuring might be discernible in the everyday life of each community. In fact, this is quite likely the actual situation. Though both are rural hamlets, Center Point is almost metropolitan in comparison to Cory. Center Point possesses a number of businesses which service the central Clay county farms, plus it has had a history of being a fairly bustling small town. An activity difference as measured by the frequency of people arriving and departing from each town may be an alternative method of explaining the structural difference in attitudes. An equally plausible possibility which could feasibly explain the structural difference may be a historical factor operating in the present which has roots in the original settling of each community. However, these alternatives should not detract significantly from the indications of the obtained data. Granted that in order to make valid statements about the specific problem of external source the original research design must be completed in totality, this does not permit one to discard the data obtained by the modified design as being theoretically useless. In fact, there are some strong indications that the limited data when combined with certain historical facts about the two towns suggests that the research has approached a significant variable between the two polities. For over a generation, the people of Center Point have attended Brazil Senior High School. Thus, even if one claims that children reflect their parents' political attitudes (eg. V. O. Key, Angus Campbell), the school in Brazil has been providing an external source of opinion to the adolescents of Center Point for a twenty-five year period. Evidence also exists that the high school is an important reference point for both adult and adolescent alike. "Brazil basketball teams owe a lot to Center Point kids over the years" informs one adult. Combining the statistical results with these historical facts, the researcher concludes that the differences in the educational pattern of adolescents in each community can be considered an important variable in the total possible set of factors which contribute to the attitude structure found in each polity.

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[16] Milton Rokeach, The Open and Closed Mind (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1960).

An interesting dividend to the project besides the identification of a significant variable was discovered during the analysis of the McClosky scale items. If the reader will recall that the research design hinted that the mean average agreement of the Center Point group would be closer to fifty per cent than the agreement score of the Coryites for any given topic. This speculation was borne out in four of the six categories. The diversity patterns have apparently reversed themselves in the topics entitled: (1) Free Speech, and (2) Procedural Rights. The Appendix reveals that the Center Point students had an average mean agreement of .9025 for "Free Speech" and .3125 for "Procedural Rights" versus the Cory students' scores of .8125 for "Free Speech" and .425 for "Procedural Rights." Now these are not spectacular differences, yet if we probe a little deeper into this variation, the divergence becomes extremely important. Perhaps the best way to illustrate my point is to reproduce a few of the questions from these categories and list the per cent agreement score for each student group.

Procedural Rights:

(a) A man should not be allowed to speak if he doesn't know what he is talking about.

Cory: 50% agree   Center Point: 25% agree

(b) Any person who hides behind the laws when he is questioned about his activities doesn't deserve much consideration.

Cory: 50% agree   Center Point: 33% agree

Free Speech:

(a) I believe in free speech for all no matter what their views might be.

Cory: 60% agree   Center Point: 100% agree

(b) No matter what a person's political beliefs are, he is entitled to the same legal rights and protections as anyone else.

Cory: 80% agree   Center Point: 100% agree

Again, these differences may not be earth-shaking, but the researcher feels that they clearly illustrate not only the content of the attitudes held by each student group, but also indicate the types of deep-lying sentiments which account for the more "closed" structure of attitudes discovered in Cory. What is particularly pleasing about the above findings is their correspondence to the results on the Stouffer "Willingness to Tolerate Nonconformists" index. On this scale, both groups exhibited a dominant pattern of tolerance, yet Cory exhibits a strong variant orientation of relative intolerance. The most important repercussion of this strong tolerance-intolerance dichotomy manifested by the Cory adolescents will probably be felt in the future when adaptive and innovative solutions are necessary for the community's survival. Presence of a fairly strong variant pattern of attitudes undoubtedly poses a formidable obstacle to supporters of innovation, who will most likely be perceived as nonconformists by the minority holding the "intolerant" attitudes. Very likely, the outcome of such a situation will be a community crisis producing intense stress within the political system. Knowledge that such a potential conflict could exist in the present and future problem-solving operations in the Cory political system should be helpful to innovators who wish to promote their programs of change and also maintain a low level of strain during the change period. Likewise, in Center Point, change is apt to be somewhat smoother, but by no means will it be unstressful. Rather, community action on an inclusive scale will probably be the outcome of many, but not all adaptive and innovative crises in Center Point.

Being an exploratory study, this project has left much uncovered which it should have touched upon, but it also has almost blundered into some unexpected yet theoretically relevant observations. This result may be due to the inexperience of the researcher, or it may possibly be attributable to the nature of exploratory research. Personally, the researcher prefers a combination of both factors as an explanation. Regardless of what the reader decides is the correct answer, certain facts remain which seem to demand recognition and further research:

1) Contiguous political systems may possess quite different belief systems, both in structure and content.

2) This difference may be discernible in the social patterns of life in each community.

3) The specific structure and content of a community belief system has implications for future adaptive and innovative crises. Each of these statements requires further research by creative social scientists in order to provide the theoretical and empirical import necessary to endow these speculations with the aura of scientific validity. If the future work will bear out the suggestions of this formulative essay, then and only then will the author feel satisfied.

The Research Instrument
See Appendix I

The Average Mean Agreement
See Appendix J

Nancy Cohen 7

COMMUNICATION PATTERNS AMONG LEADERS

The role and characteristics of leaders in the power and decision-making structures in groups has recently been the focal point of much of the research conducted by social psychologists, sociologists, and political scientists. The present study attempts to utilize certain hypotheses developed in and out of the laboratory and to examine the extent to which they do or do not explain the leadership structure in one small town. Main concern will be on combining these theories of leadership with the work done on sociometry. I thus hope to examine the communication network of the leaders, i.e. the number of communications initiated and received by individuals, the choice status of individuals and cohesiveness of the group (see Festinger, 1951), the preponderance and/or lack of cliques, and the extent to which this communication remains in or travels beyond this group of influentials.

Barry E. Collins and Harold Guetzkow, in their chapter on "Communication and Interaction," (A Social Psychology of Group Processes for Decision-Making, John Wiley and Sons, Inc.; N.Y., 1964) set forth some particularly applicable propositions based on a wide spread analysis of experimentation. This paper will, in part, examine these propositions:

1. Interaction is unevenly distributed among group members.
2. The more interactions initiated by a group member, the more interactions will be directed toward him by other group members.
3. High power-status persons will initiate more communications than low status persons.

4. The high rate of initiations of high status persons means that they will receive more communications than low status persons from all group members under all circumstances.
5. Under conditions of common fate, individuals will develop interpersonal attraction (pp. 166-188).

It appears that one of the shortcomings in social psychological experimentation is the assumption that decision-making and leadership tend to be constant from situation to situation (see proposition 4. above). Because the data from this study covers a range of six situations over time, I feel it to be possible to test the viability of this assumption. In agreement with work done by Merton in 1949 and Katz and Lazarsfeld in 1955, this study tries to see if, "opinion leaders are specialized: they are leaders in one content area and not in another." (Secord and Backman, Social Psychology; McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1964, p. 261). If Jennings' (1950) division of choice criterion into psychegroup and sociogroup are, in fact, valid, the situations used in this study would fall into the sociogroup, that of "working-or living-type criterion" versus psychegroup or "leisure-type criterion". That is to say that "choices of all members should be concentrated on a few persons whose group role is crucial." (Secord and Backman, p. 266).

In addition, this study shall examine the change in, and relationships between the leaders over time and across situations. If any similarity exists I expect that they will be between Situations 2. and 5. (see below) which are both potentially threatening to the community and between Situations

4. and 6., which necessitate the same type of community action and co-operation. Situation 1. may well fall into this latter category. Bearing in mind the extensive amount of work which differed in problem solving activity in each of the communication networks, I further propose that not only will there be changes in the communication network in general, but that the extent to which this communication is reciprocated may well affect the success of various situational activities. As summarized by Marvin E. Shaw:

> The communication network imposed on the group influences its problem-solving efficiency, communication activity, organizational development, and member satisfaction. The major network difference is between centralized (e.g. wheel, chain, Y) and decentralized (e.g. circle, concom) networks. (Advances in Experimental Social Psych., L. Berkowitz, p. 144).

METHODS

Subjects: The subjects (Ss) were the nineteen members on the list of community influentials in Centerpoint, Indiana, a small town north of Bloomington. They were chosen by a four step identification process compiled by William Vanderbock the previous year which combines the reputational and decisional methods of determining leadership.

Procedure: For the first part of the experiment, each S was given the following form to complete for each of the other eighteen members on the influential list for situations one and two.

List between three and six people that
_____________________ would be most
likely to talk to about this issue.
List the names in the order of whom you
think he would be most likely to talk
to first down to the person on your list
he would be least likely to talk to.

On the basis of responses to these situations and a series of complementary questionnaires, the original list was narrowed to the ten most influential members in the community, who at a later date were presented situations four through six. The situations, each of which is related to some facet of community life, are as follows:

Situation 1.
The town board has before it a plan which would bring a gas line into Centerpoint. A vote will be taken on the plan at the board's next meeting.

Situation 2.
The parents of several school age children in Centerpoint have introduced at a town board meeting a recommendation that the local grade school be closed and the children be sent to a larger school in another community.

Situation 3.
Centerpoint has scheduled its fish fry. It is now two weeks away and the co-operation of everyone in the community has been asked for in the hope that it will be a bigger success than ever before.

Situation 4.
The town board has before it a plan for constructing sidewalks in Centerpoint.

Situation 5.
As a part of a nation-wide movement to bring together the Methodist and EUB churches and because some people in the town think the town is too small to support two churches each with its own minister it has been decided that the two churches in Centerpoint should be served for the time being by one minister and that the congregations should be eventually united.

Situation 6.
Some people in Centerpoint have felt for several years that the town should have its own water system. It has been proposed that Centerpoint obtain a federal loan to finance the water system.

After the data from all the subjects was collected, it was arranged in matrices for each of the six situations with the initiator of communication on one axis and the recipient of communication on the other. The communications were weighted as follows: When the S listed six names, the first name was given six, the second five, etc.; when the S listed five names, the first was given five, the second four, etc. The entries in the matrices are the sum of the influentials' evaluation of whom one particular S would be expected to talk to.

RESULTS

Although there are few valid statistical tests available for analysis of sociometric data of this type, several facts become clear on close inspection of the data and many probable trends are indicated. All Ss receiving a total of at least "6" in the eighteen-person evaluations or a "3" in the ten-person evaluations were categorized as being a recipient of communication from a certain individual. Table 2 shows the total number of communications received by each mentioned person according to the above criterion and Table 1 shows the number of initiated communications.

TABLE 1

RANK ORDERING OF Ss ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF INITIATED COMMUNICATIONS

SITUATION																	
1	(166) 8	(120) 2	(118) 10	(112) 9	(109) 15	(109) 16	(106) 6	(104) 14	(103) 7	(100) 11	(93) 18	(92) 19	(90) 4	(87) 17	(81) 3	(80) 1	(74) 5
2	(124) 16	(123) 10	(120) 8	(115) 15	(112) 9	(110) 6	(108) 19	(106) 5	(104) 11	(102) 3	(102) 4	(101) 2	(94) 17	(94) 18	(91) 7	(90) 1	(89) 14
3	(43) 8	(43) 19	(38) 2	(37) 3	(35) 7	(35) 10	(34) 4	(33) 16	(28) 9	(28) 6							
4	(78) 8	(73) 5	(69) 16	(63) 4	(61) 2	(56) 19	(51) 6	(50) 9	(50) 10	(47) 3							
5	(89) 2	(87) 3	(80) 6	(78) 9	(73) 10	(70) 4	(63) 16	(61) 8	(48) 7	(48) 19							
6	(79) 8	(76) 7	(73) 16	(68) 10	(63) 9	(63) 3	(61) 19	(54) 2	(51) 4	(50) 6							

TABLE 2

RANK ORDERING OF Ss ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF RECEIVED COMMUNICATIONS

SITUATION																					
1	(418)	(315)	(158)	(130)	(86)	(84)	(72)	(70)	(64)	(61)	(54)	(42)	(35)	(33)							
	8	7	9	2	3	16	15	4	6	14	10	20	22	18							
2	(351)	(183)	(156)	(142)	(137)	(117)	(113)	(105)	(102)	(56)	(47)	(44)	(38)	(35)	(28)	(23)					
	8	2	7	10	19	11	9	6	3	5	4	16	32	14	22	17					
3	(145)	(107)	(78)	(58)	(58)	(57)	(51)	(31)	(28)	(19)	(13)	(13)	(8)	(8)	(8)						
	8	3	5	7	16	24	20	6	10	18	2	4	9	28	29						
4	(163)	(107)	(69)	(65)	(62)	(42)	(23)	(20)	(16)	(16)	(4)										
	8	9	16	4	7	3	6	10	2	20	22										
5	(70)	(34)		(30)	(28)	(24)	(19)	(16)	(15)	(12)	(11)	(11)	(10)	(9)	(9)	(8)	(8)	(6)	(5)	(5)	(4)
	2	8	6	10	18	9	7	3	54	16	24	22	19	25	5	55	56	4	28	57	34
6	(168)	(97)	(71)	(66)	(54)	(43)	(30)	(26)	(21)	(11)	(11)	(11)	(5)								
	8	9	7	4	16	3	2	6	10	15	5	20	22								

A general overview of the results shows, as proposed, that interaction is unevenly distributed among group members (1.); moreover the amount and range of communication varies from situation to situation (see tables 1 and 2). In general, there appears to be a smooth progression of initiation of communication with little variance between highest and lowest scores and between _S_s. The similarity among initiation of communication in situations four, five, and six should be noted. This is not the case with reception of communication (see table 2) where a very few people receive the vast prepreponderance of communications. _S_ number 8, in particular, receives the most communication by a significant amount in all situations, except Situation 5, which happens to be that of church consolidation; the minister receives more communication in this instance. That choices have a tendency to concentrate on a few crucial group members is thus in keeping with Jennings' ideas of sociogroup phenomenon

The extent of cohesiveness in each situation, used as an index of group structure and expressed as the ratio of observed number of mutual-choice pairs to the possible number of such pairs, was as follows:

Situation 1.	11%	Situation 4.	33%
Situation 2.	16%	Situation 5.	20%
Situation 3.	18%	Situation 6.	29%

Similarities in cohesion scores are thus noted between situations four and six and situations two, three and five. Choice status (CS) as indicated on Table 3 shows the proportion of individuals in each situation who choose each

TABLE 3

CHOICE STATUS IN PERCENTS FOR Ss IN SIX SITUATIONS

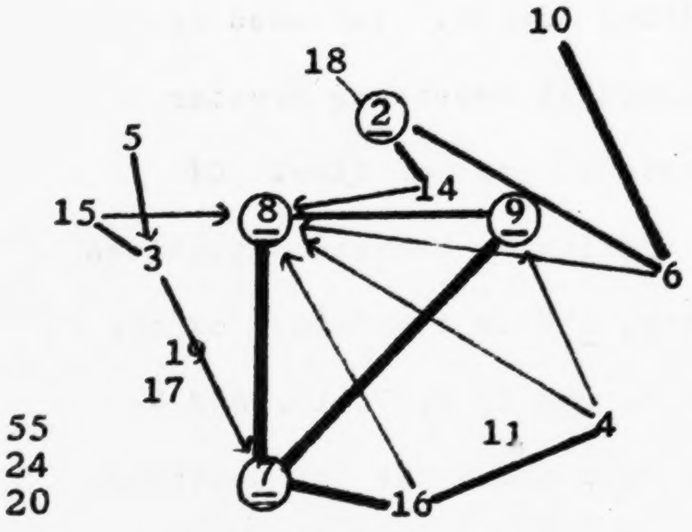
Subject ID Number	SITUATION 1	2	3	4	5	6
2	50	67	22	22	100	44
3	17	28	89	44	22	44
4	17	11	22	67	11	56
5		17	100	22		22
6	22	22	22	22	33	22
7	89	53	78	78	33	56
8	100	100	100	100	89	100
9	53	33	11	89	44	67
10	6	39	33	22	44	22
11		53				
14	11					
15	11					22
16	17	11	44	56	22	56
18	6		33		56	
19		33			32	
20	6		67	11		22
22	6			22	11	22
24			78		33	
25					22	
28			11		11	
29			11			
32		6				
34					11	
54					11	
55					33	
56					22	
57					11	

other S. A rank ordering of choice status' of those chosen by at least 50% of the group is as follows:

Situation 1.	8-7-9-2
Situation 2.	8-2-7-11 (10-19-9)
Situation 3.	8-5-3-7-24-20 (16-18-10)
Situation 4.	8-9-7-4 (16-3)
Situation 5.	2-8-18 (10-9-55-24-67)
Situation 6.	8-9-7-4-16 (3-2)

With the addition of those chosen by a third (included in parentheses) the replication of Situation 4. in Situation 6. is evident, as is a close tie in with Situation 1. Situation 3. appears to fall into no one category, as was expected. However, Situation 3. and Situation 5. include a wider range of Ss than other situations, individuals who, in fact, do not even appear on the influential list. The expected similarity between Situations 2. and 5. is notably absent in the rank ordering, choice status, cohesiveness scores, etc., even though they both appeared to be "threatening". The one noted similarity is the inclusing of S 2 and S 10 who are very high in both situations. In fact, if amount of communication received is any indication of community concern, situation 5. is of least concern to the community, with receipt of communication starting from a high of 70 which is half as large as the next lowest situation. (A similar low range is found in the initiation of communication in Situation 3.) The rank ordering of Situation 5. also contains the largest number of choice status people and the widest range of people not included on the influential list.

TABLE 4 SOCIOGRAMS OF RECIPROCATED COMMUNICATION FOR Ss IN SIX SITUATIONS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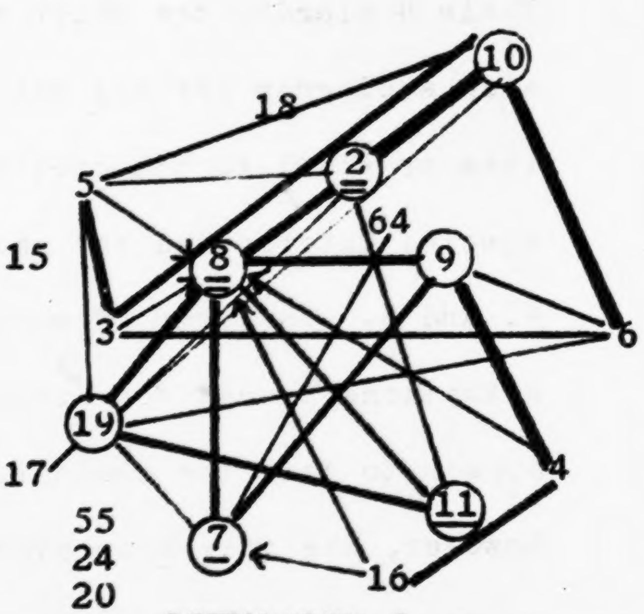
SITUATION 1.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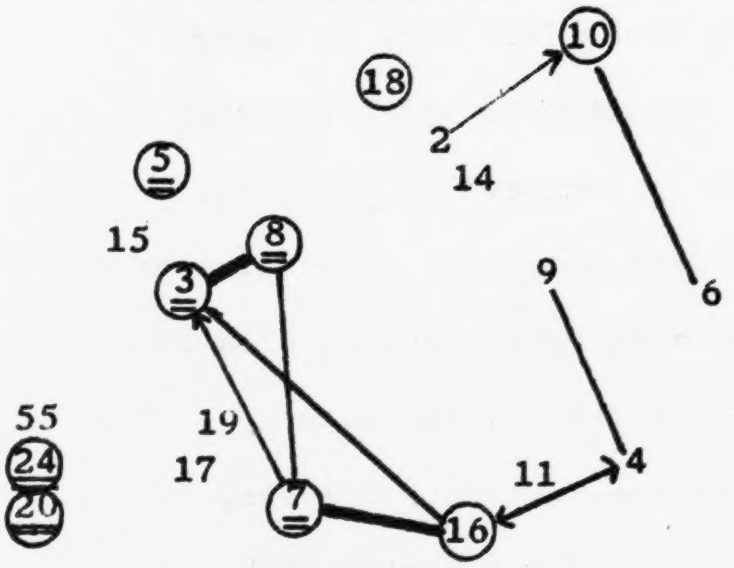
SITUATION 2.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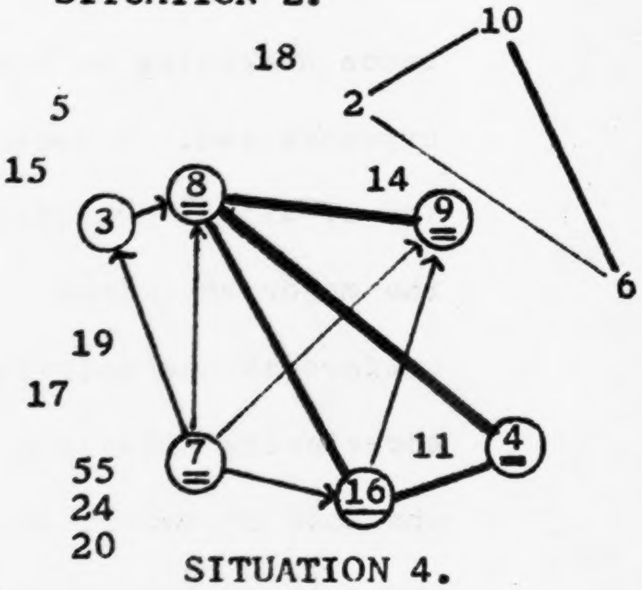
SITUATION 3.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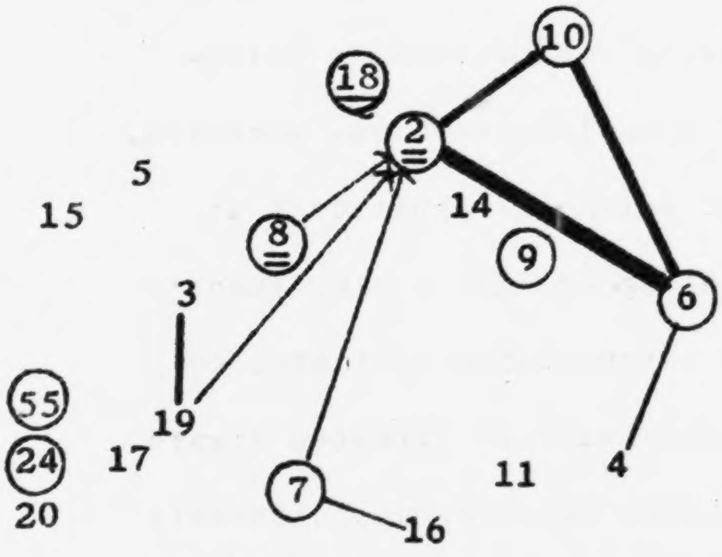
SITUATION 4.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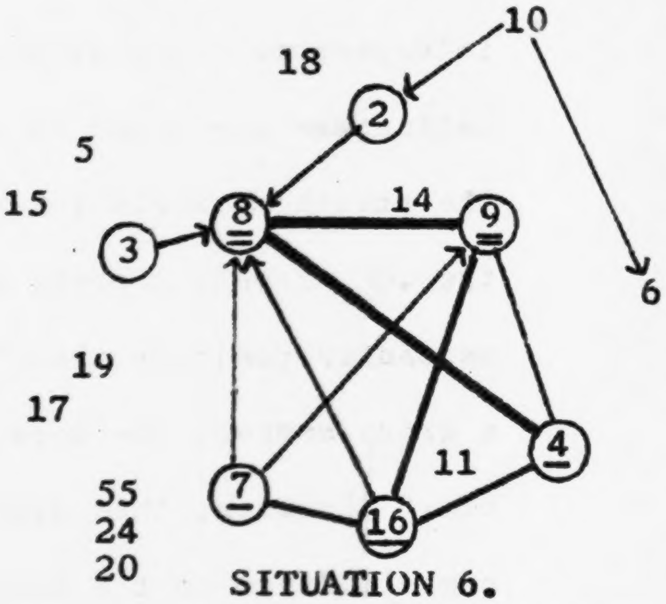
SITUATION 5.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7
16

SITUATION 6.

LEGEND

- Ⓧ (double underlined) S with CS ≥ 67%
- Ⓧ (underlined) S with CS ≥ 50%
- Ⓧ S with CS ≥ 33%

Width of lines represent the strength of reciprocal communication.

→ tends toward 1-sided communication. (still is reciprocal)

Sociograms of the different situations, as depicted on Table 4 clarify the above mentioned trends. Included in each sociogram are all the individuals receiving greater than or equal to 33% choice status at any one time. Of special interest is the marked similarity between Situations 4. and 6. In terms of sociometry, S 8 is the "star" of all situations except for Situation 5. Ss 8, 9, 7, 16, and 4 appear to form the dominating clique among the influentials, however, the only S consistently high in choice status is 8, as was previously mentioned. The other four vary in importance depending on the specific situation as was originally hypothesized. A secondary clique is composed of Ss 2, 10, and 6, with 2 providing the strongest potential link between the major and minor cliques. The most widely spread area of reciprocal communication is in Situation 2., the most threatening situation according to the community members, and thus in compliance with Collins and Guetzkow's fifth proposition that "under common fate, individuals will develop interpersonal attraction." A Pearson Product-Moment Correlation was performed on communications initiated and received. The ensuing correlation was .51538 which is significant at the .001 level, thereby substantiating Collins and Guetzkow's second proposition that "the more interactions initiated by a group member, the more interactions will be directed toward him." However, this does not consider the disproportionately high loadings on the first rank ordered S compared with the other Ss as to communications received. Often those initiating very high amounts of communication (e.g. Ss 10 and 19 in Situation 1.) do not even appear on the lower side of the communications received ordering (see below).

Rank ordering, choice status percentages, and the reappearance of certain Ss in several situations tend to follow Collins and Guetzkow's proposition that high status persons "receive more communications than low status persons." However, their enumeration to the effect that they will receive these communications from "all group members under all circumstances" is unsubstantiated by the data which shows a definite variability from situation to situation and numerous instances where communications are not directed to the high choice status individuals by all group members. There is then some degree of specialization among leaders.

Very little can be said concerning an analysis of the situations across time, there being no immediately discernible trend. The sequence of Situations beginning with the farthest issue is 3, 2, 4--5, 6, 1, with the last three of immediate concern to the community. The similarities between Situations 4. and 6. may indicate an imminent solution of the problem of situation in the manner of Situation 4.

DISCUSSION

The preceding, hindered in part by the absence of accepted statistical measurements and the quantity of data available for analysis, nevertheless indicated much about the nature of leadership structure. By examining this structure in six different situations, all of which were pertinent to the Ss involved in the experiment, some of the artificiality of leadership studied in laboratory settings was thus eliminated. In addition, the range of the situations, as verified by the results, drew attention to the variability of the leadership across situations, showing fluctuations not only in who were the most important persons in each issue area, but the relationship of these leaders to the other leaders in the group and to members outside the group. In this way the sociometric data proved an invaluable source for determining communication links. This could possibly provide means of determining the most feasible ways of activating such a group, if ever it became necessary to do so since the reciprocated communications did show some stability over time and across situations.

Several points should, however, be raised in relation to the use of this type of sociometric data and its subsequient analysis. Specifically, although it appears logical that receipt of communications is a viable means of determining community importance and is, in fact, the means used for determining choice status and cohesiveness, there is as yet no means for determining the relative importance of those scores as compared to such variables as rank orderings and mutuality of response patterns. Similarly there are no means of deciding whether mutuality of scores, the number of persons spoken to in and/or out of the leadership group, or the strength of these communications, all of which indicate variations in structure, is the best indicator of leadership. This remains to be examined.

The use of a community such as this one with predetermined leadership structure does have certain inherent difficulties which should be mentioned. Specifically, elimination of the artificialities of certain laboratory experiments necessarily eliminates certain laboratory controls, i.e. this group is not the same as a carefully controlled group of college students involved in a laboratory experiment. Although the Ss live in the same town, they are not a group in the same sense that a group is usually considered by psychologists and for this reason may not act wholely in keeping with the results of other small group studies. It was, however, hoped that the relative newness of this type of approach would lead to more viable results, and that the salience of the issues would help rather than hinder validity. An even more complete experiment should take into account not only the community's expectation of each Ss communication patterns but each Ss own evaluation of each situation; realizing that such stated patterns may be only limited indicators of actual patterns.

CONCLUSION

The present study used certain theories of sociometry to better explain the nature of group leadership. Based on the responses of leaders in one small town, communication networks were set up to examine such points as cohesiveness of the leadership as well as their relationship to the rest of the community. Through the use of six different situations, leadership patterns were shown to fluctuate in terms of key figures, reciprocated communications, out-group considerations, etc. across situations as was hypothesized.

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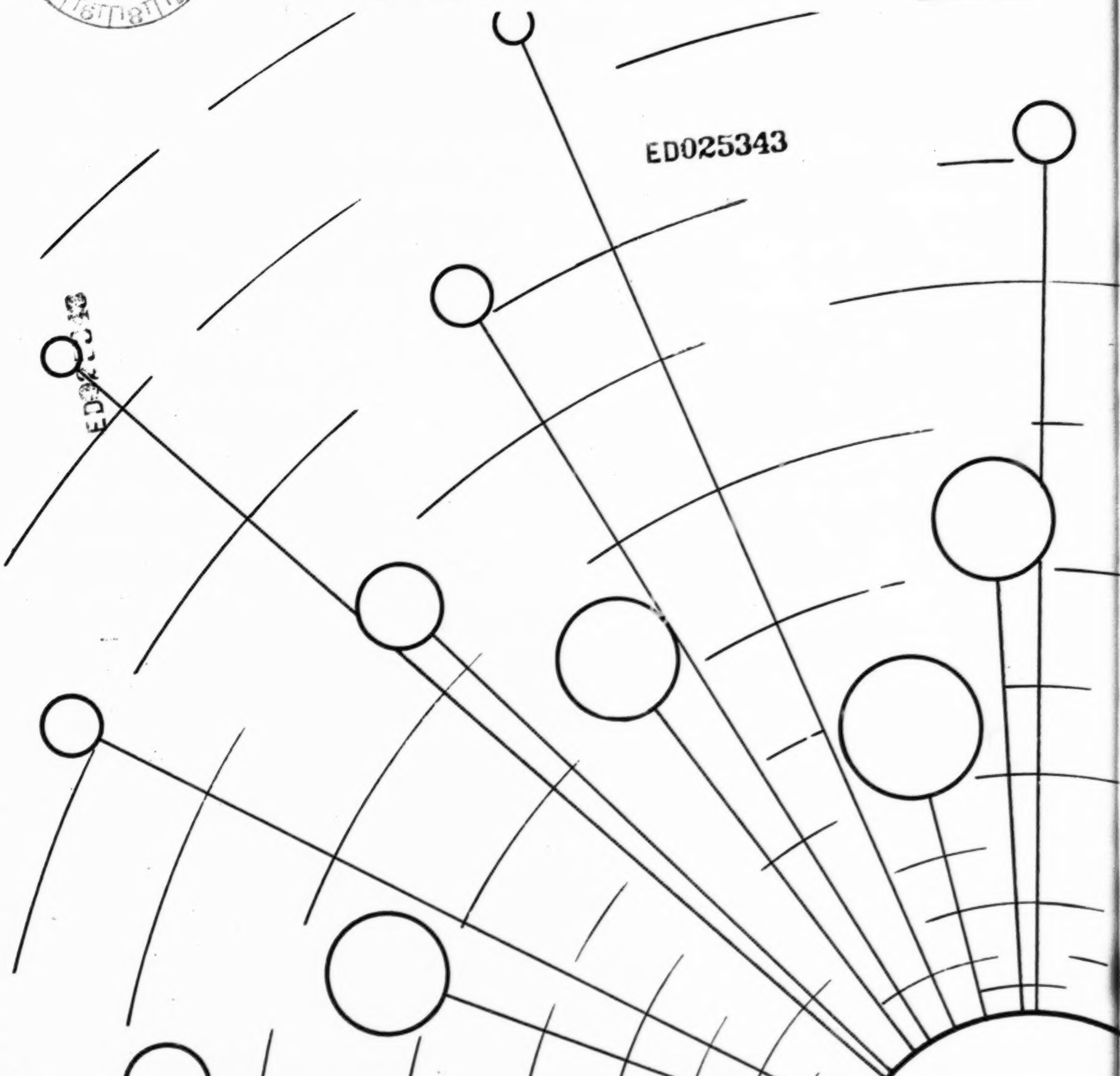

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20th CENTURY VILLAGE LIFE

Research Papers on the Nature of Three Small Indiana Communities

VOLUME II

Edited by

Leroy C. Hodapp
and

William J. Gore

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POWERLESSNESS: OBJECTIVE AND SUBJECTIVE*

> You can fool all of the people some of the time, and
> some of the people all of the time, but you can't fool
> all of the people all of the time.
>
> Abraham Lincoln

The importance of feeling politically effective

In a democracy, "The ideal citizen does not stop at having an opinion. He acts, individually or in a group, to implement his decision, and he is on guard against feelings of apathy, against the attitude that one man can do nothing."[1] People who feel politically ineffective, however, think and act in violation of this ideal.

The very belief that they are incapable runs counter to the ideal.[2] And, since they deem their efforts futile, they fail to try to influence political decisions.[3] Insofar as governmental officials cannot grant demands of which they are unaware, people who feel politically incompetent virtually ensure their own deprivation. Nothing ventured, nothing gained.

Aside from their self-disenfranchisement, people who think themselves politically incapable also tend to consider public officials responsive to selfish demands; for them, "The politician who will not listen to one's civic voice *must be* a corrupt and self-serving actor."[4] And self-assessed "ineffectives" are likely to reject the rules and results of democratic politics.[5]

---

* I wish to thank Charles Elder, William J. Gore, Kenneth Janda, and Leroy N. Rieselbach for their comments on an earlier draft of this paper. Also, I am grateful to my friend and colleague, C. Richard Hofstetter, for his tireless and vital aid in processing the data on which the paper is based.

Thus, subjectively incompetent political actors do not make good democratic citizens.[6] They believe what is forbidden and they act in ways which weaken themselves and democracy as well. How do they get like this?

Political Power: Actual and Perceived

Viewing behavior as the interaction of social, cultural, and character systems in concrete situations, it is possible to set forth in organized fashion the relationships among they key variables in this problem. Figure 1 is such an attempt. Although the arrows indicate direction of causality, no fixed sequence is implied for the whole network of relationships. Each enclosed set of factors denotes a set of interdependent variables.[7]

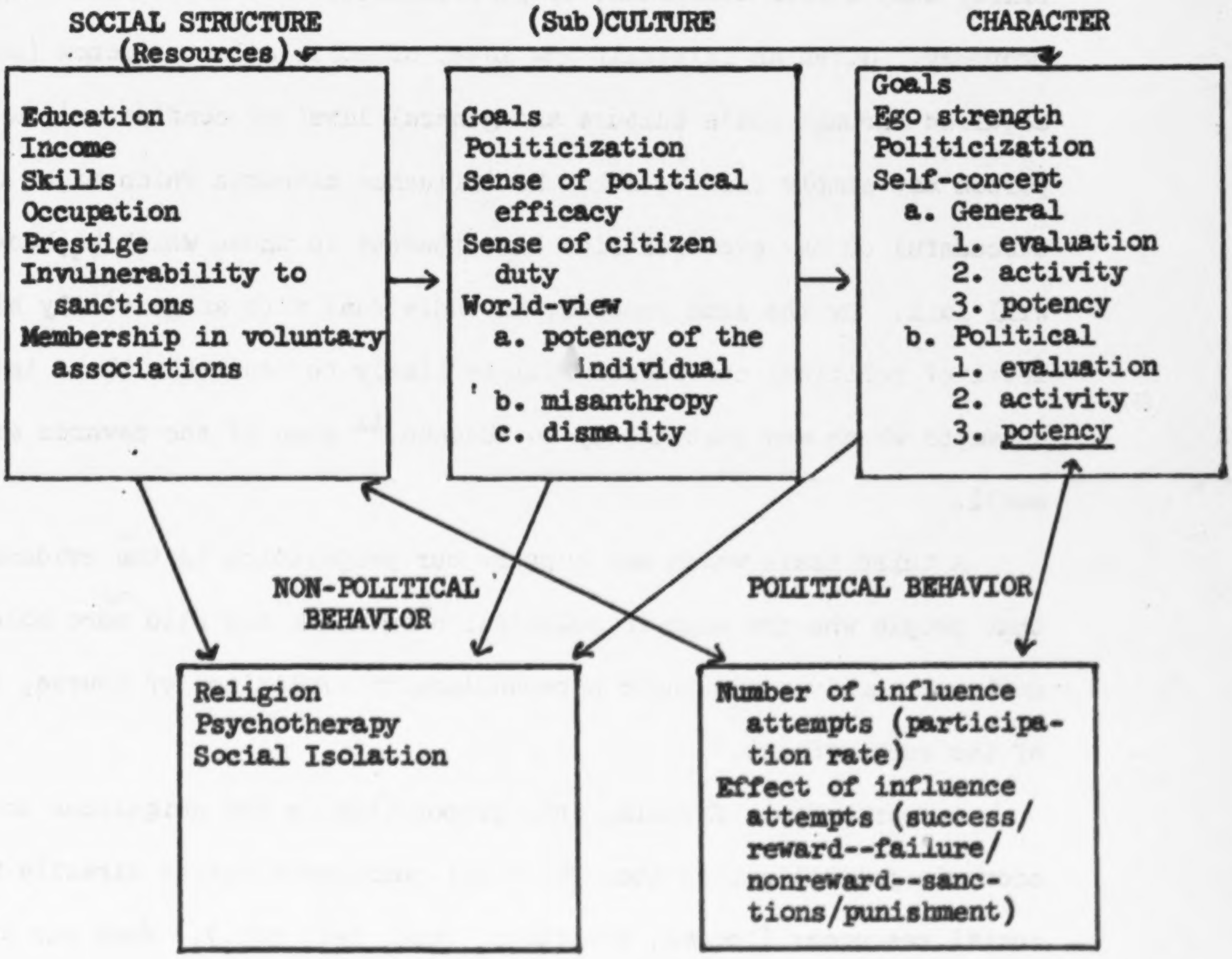
Perhaps the major disadvantage of this approach is the feature which makes it most attractive: its comprehensibility. Rather than treat "the totality of coexisting facts which are conceived of as mutually interdependent," which is the "field" of behavior,[8] a research project of limited resources must settle for less. So it is here. We will concentrate our exploration of the sense of political potency on its interaction with political participation.

In this context, what emerges from Figure 1 is the proposition that people who feel politically powerless really are so, or that subjective and objective power are positively correlated.

One basis for believing this is the possibility that people know what they are talking about. Among other functions that opinions serve is that of assessing the environment, or reality-testing. Man, so to speak, has a "need" to know. To the extent that a given piece of

Figure 1

OBJECTIVE AND SUBJECTIVE POWER AS A FUNCTION OF INTERACTIONS AMONG SOCIAL STRUCTURE, CULTURE, AND CHARACTER


SOCIAL STRUCTURE
(Resources)
(Sub)CULTURE
CHARACTER
Education
Income
Skills
Occupation
Prestige
Invulnerability to sanctions
Membership in voluntary associations
Goals
Politicization
Sense of political efficacy
Sense of citizen duty
World-view
a. potency of the individual
b. misanthropy
c. dismality
Goals
Ego strength
Politicization
Self-concept
a. General
1. evaluation
2. activity
3. potency
b. Political
1. evaluation
2. activity
3. potency
NON-POLITICAL BEHAVIOR
POLITICAL BEHAVIOR
Religion
Psychotherapy
Social Isolation
Number of influence attempts (participation rate)
Effect of influence attempts (success/reward--failure/nonreward--sanctions/punishment)

knowledge about his environment is nonthreatening to the ego and useful for other purposes as well, its distortion is unlikely.[9] One's influence in politics may be such an area of knowledge for most people. Where this is so, the individual's judgments of his relative influence should be quite accurate.[10]

A second basis for expecting the proposition to hold is the possibility that a self-assessment of powerlessness is a self-fulfilling prophecy. Given an initially low level of political confidence (perhaps acquired through one's culture and general level of confidence), a person may simply fail to make the influence attempts which might be successful or may even restrict his attempts to those which he knows will fail. By the same process, an individual with an initially high level of political confidence will be likely to undertake those influence attempts which are most likely to succeed,[11] even if the rewards are small.

A third basis which may support our proposition is the evidence that people who are high in political confidence are also more able to master themselves and their surroundings.[12] Politics, of course, is part of the surroundings.

A fourth basis favoring this proposition is the ubiquitous socioeconomic generalization that political confidence varies directly with social resources (income, education, race, sex, etc.). When put to political use, social resources enhance an individual's probability of making successful influence attempts.[13]

A fifth basis for believing our proposition is the possibility that a person rationalizes about the importance of the acts he commits.

Having been induced to participate, he may have to consider participation worthwhile to maintain the belief that he does only worthwhile things. Having failed to participate, he may denigrate the utility of participation for the same reason.[14] (This theory is simply the reversed causal order of the self-fulfilling prophecy.)

A sixth and final reason (there may be others, but they excape our imagination) is the evidence collected on political actors' expectations of political success, comparing people of different levels of actual influence.[15] However, only Dahl's Who Governs? examines the relationships between subjective and objective political power within different social strata.

Unfortunately, the "subleaders" of New Haven vary widely in the actual influence they wield; their activities range from stamp-licking to policy-formulating, but their level of political confidence was treated as if it were uniform. More regretably, Dahl did not compare leaders with subleaders or nonleaders on political confidence. It would be interesting and new, then, to compare the subjective local political potency of local political leaders with that of nonleaders while controlling for various indicators of social advantage. Our field study attempts to do this.

Field Study

From the proposition that sense of political potency varies directly with actual political potency, it follows that for a given community:

(Hypothesis I) the members of the decision-making elite(s) will feel more politically efficacious with respect to the community than will nonmembers.

Our field study is an exploration--not a test--of this hypothesis.

In the summer of 1965, several graduate students, guided by Professor William J. Gore, besieged three small rural midwestern towns (the largest of which had a population no greater than 300) with a barrage of questionnaires for a power structure study, a census, and three separate attitude surveys. Fortunately, the townfolk were kind enough not to take to the hills.

Extensive reconnaissance assured us that the towns were small enough to assume that each resident knew all the others. With this in mind, about ten informants were selected in each town on the basis of their apprently high knowledge of local affairs. Each was asked to name the issues confronting his town and those who were most influential in attacking these matters. From these interviews, about fifteen names in each town were placed on a list of "elite" members to be more intensively interviewed about their community political roles.

Thirteen members[16] of the sixteen-member Cory "elite" were each interviewed and matched as nearly as possible with a nonelite member of the community for age, sex, socio-economic status,[17] length of residence, education, income, and social participation.[18] No resource level was especially hard to match: social advantages do not separate this "elite" from its "mass."

In the comparisons of matched pairs, there were ten respondents who differed from their demographic partners in knowledge of local affairs.[19] Nine of the ten differences favored the eilite. Apparently, this test was easier for the elite, which made all of the top seven scores. (See Table 1)

Scores on a scale which purports to measure the salience of local and national politics[20] tell almost the same story. Of the eleven differences, eight favored the eilite. This scale was surely too easy for the elite, since five of its members achieved the maximum score possible, a feat matched by only one nonelite member. (See Table 2)

So far, the data tell us that this "elite" contains some of the town's most politicized people, who are not necessarily those of highest social position. These differences in politicization, moreover, hold among respondents of like social position. Since one would expect these features of community influentials, we (boldly) assumed that every elite member was more influential in local politics than every nonelite member.[21]

Now, hypothesis I predicts that differences in sense of local political potency[22] between these two sets of respondents will favor the elite. Six of the seven differences are in the predicted direction. (See Table 3)

Unfortunately, this scale was too easy for most of the elite and much of the nonelite. Nine of the elite and five of the nonelite made the highest possible score, four of the elite and five of the nonelite made the next score, and only three respondents in the whole sample fared worse. Moreover, one item (not counted in the scores reported in Table 3) was dropped because every respondent answered in the "competent" direction. But the fact remains that the elite sample had a much higher proportion of maximum-scorers, which is inconclusive but encouraging for hypothesis I.

Still in the vein of preliminary exploration, these results seemed positive enough to examine a corollary of the proposition that objective and subjective influence rise and fall together. If we assume that the residents of Cory have a better chance of influencing their local government than the Federal government, it follows that:

(Hypothesis II) the whole sample should express greater competence vis-a-vis the local government than vis-a-vis the national government.

In other words, we expect the respondents to share our assumption. They do. Looking at the matched pairs, we find as many differences on subjective national competence scores[23] in one direction as in the other. And the distribution of scores is quite unlike the previous one. Eight respondents scored less than the second highest possible, with two failing to give any "competent" response.[24] (See Table 4)

Why do people feel more effective in local than in national politics? The line we have pursued thus far would simply answer, "because they are more effective in local politics." Disregarding the form of a city's power structure, it would seem that the opportunity to influence its governmental policy increases with the weight of the individual's vote, scope of the issues, and opportunity to interact with governmental officials. The latter three, in turn, increase as the size of the city decreases. We would thus expect that:

(Hypothesis III) there will be a slight negative relationship between town size and subjective local competence.[25]

Secondary Analysis

Using the data gathered by Almond and Verba in the United States, it was possible to construct Likert-type scales from the subjective local competence items and subject this hypothesis to preliminary analysis.[26]

Table 1

Local Political Cognition Scores

Matched Pair No.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Elite	6	3	6	6	6	6	4	6	4	4	4	6	4
Non-Elite	3	1	5	4	4	1	4	4	4	2	5	2	4

Table 2

Salience Scores

Matched Pair No.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Elite	7	6	8	8	8	5	5	5	2	7	3	8	8
Non-Elite	5	4	7	1	3	5	6	3	6	3	5	5	8

Table 3

Subjective Local Competence Scores

Matched Pair No.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Elite	4	5	4	5	5	4	5	5	4	5	5	5	5
Non-Elite	2	5	4	4	4	4	3	5	5	1	5	4	5

Table 4

Subjective National Competence Scores

Matched Pair No.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Elite	4	4	5	6	6	6	6	1	3	6	6	1	6
Non-Elite	2	2	6	6	5	6	6	5	6	5	6	3	6

At first glance, the relationship is strikingly slight, a gamma of merely -.020. But small towns differ from large ones in other ways relevant to the distribution of subjective local competence scores.

First, large towns are more advantaged in both education (gamma = +.172) and income (gamma = +.233). Given the positive relationship between these social advantages and subjective local competence (the "socio-economic generalization" basis, above), their disproportionate presence in large towns would serve to deflate the hypothesized negative relationship between town size and subjective local competence.

Making the appropriate controlling operations, we find a complex pattern of statistical interaction. That is, the relationship between the independent and dependent variables fluctuates from one category of the control variable to another.

Among the eleven Americans who claim no schooling, there is a strong positive relationship between town size and subjective local competence. Although the number of cases (N) from which this coefficient was calculated is too small to reliably interpret, one may speculate that the governments of large cities offer special compensating advantages to the unschooled: employment agencies, welfare, unemployment payments, etc. These advantages are examples of successful experience with government.

This positive relationship holds, though it weakens, until the category "8 years," which is the equivalent of primary school graduate. At this point and above, the relationship between town size and subjective local competence is consistently negative. For college graduates, however, it is nearly nonexistent: they feel (and undoubtedly are) more effective in cities of any size.

Thus, educational differences had been hiding the effects of town size on subjective local competence. This can be further seen in the fact that every gamma but the last one in table 5 is higher than the original gamma of -.020.

The relationship between subjective local competence and town size within categories of income follows a similar pattern. Again, it starts out positive, turns negative, and ends up relatively low. The same interpretation would apply to both income and education. (See Table 6)

Further controls tease out other interesting facts, all of which may be fitted into an explanation like the one offered above: some social disadvantages are less politically disadvantageous in large towns than in small ones. Both Negroes (gamma = +.153, N = 100) and women (gamma = +.010, N = 515) feel more competent in the larger city's politics, whereas the reverse holds for whites (gamma = -.024, N = 866) and males (gamma = -.053, N = 465). Negroes in the larger cities are more effectively organized and local officials must be responsive to them to stay in office and keep the peace. As for the ladies, one may speculate that femininity in politics is disadvantageous primarily in the small town, and helpful, if anything, in more cosmopolitan locales.

Finally, it remains to be shown that generalization of the individual's self-confidence in national politics to his self-potency in local politics does not inflate the negative relationship between subjective local competence and town size. Here the demonstration is straightforward. Denizens of large cities are higher in sense of national competence (gamma = +.164), which means that this variable's effects can only depress the over-all negative relationship between subjective local competence and town size.

Table 5

Subjective Local Competence Versus Town Size at Different Levels of Education

Education Level	None	1-4 years	5-7 years	8 years	9-11 years	12 years	1-3 years coll.	Coll. Grad.
Gamma	+.619	+.047	+.115	-.109	-.205	-.101	-.138	-.005
N	11	55	105	168	178	265	108	80

Table 6

Subjective Local Competence Versus Town Size at Different Levels of Income

Income Level (in $ per yr.)	Under 1,000	1,000-1,999	2,000-2,999	3,000-4,999	5,000-7,499	7,500-9,999	10,000-14,999	15,000 & over
Gamma	+.196	+.069	-.253	-.212	-.127	-.008	-.186	+.067
N	80	90	99	217	265	98	75	28

Table 7

Subjective Local Competence Versus Twon Size at Different Levels of Subjective National Competence

Level of Subjective National Competence	1	2	3	4	5
Gamma	-.025	-.287	-.176	-.068	-.193
N	294	220	193	178	85

When we lift this depressing effect by correlating town size and subjective local competence separately for each level of subjective national competence, we find every gamma stronger than the original over-all one. (See Table 7)

Some methodological caveats

Throughout this paper, we have stressed the preliminary nature of the findings. If any reader considers our results conclusive, we hope this section will disabuse him (or her) of this illusion.

First, let us look at the instruments which purport to measure the sense of political potency. The Almond-Verba items refer almost exclusively to the legislature as an object of political influence and attitudes. But other political structures and personnel also make and enforce policy. How, then, can we know that these scales measure subjective political potency toward all of the government in question?[27]

Without so much as a single attempt to assess the stability of "potency" scale scores from one test to another (test-re-test reliability), we have followed the rest of the literature in assuming that they measure a general, durable personal disposition. But, as some of the bases underlying our general proposition suggest, these scales may merely tap a momentary mood.[28]

Furthermore, we were unable to control for the effects of any of the response sets which distort sensitivity to questionnaire content. The first sample was too small and the second sample came equipped with everything but the appropriate measures. For all we know, we may have measured nothing more than attitudes toward social science interviewers!

If the scales are valid, they nonetheless fail to discriminate clearly between people at different levels of the continuous variable they purport to measure. If broken down by scales of finer calibration, the larger number of ties might seriously change our results. Lacking such refined measures, we cannot rest easy with our findings.

Forgetting the scales, we must return to our most vital assumption --that the list of reputed community influentials contains the names of Cory's political decision-makers. This premise relies on an unfinished power structure study for confirmation or falsification; as it stands, the premise is not yet proven.

As for the secondary analysis, the correlations seem too small and irregular to warrant immediate acceptance. Since we only controlled for one intervening variable at a time, some of these gammas may be spurious.

Finally, we cannot genralize our findings about Cory, even if they are valid, to any other place. Cory is only one arbitrarily chosen town, and an atypically small one at that.

Summary and Conclusions

People who feel incapable in politics do not act and think like good democratic citizens. We suggest, however, that their attitudes of incapability may be objectively valid.

In a small rural midwestern town we hypothesized and found that a reputed decision-making elite had a greater proportion of members who scored high on a test of local subjective political competence than did a demographically matched sample. The two samples were assumed equally influential in national politics and, as hypothesized, did not differ in subjective national competence, in which they were lower than in subjective local competence.

Taking proximity to decision-makers, influence of the individual's vote, and scope of the issues as determinants of influence in politics, we hypothesized and found a low negative relationship between size of city (an indicant of our three determants of power) and subjective local competence in the United States. The consistent reversal of this relationship at the lowest levels of social position prompted the post hoc explanation that the governments of big cities offer more benefits than those of small cities to the very disadvantaged.

It remains to test these hypotheses. Our instruments were too crude, our population atypical, and our correlations small (and perhaps spurious). Nonetheless, the consistently favorable direction (if not the magnitude) of our results argues for the tenacity of their theoretical underpinnings. An exploration can offer no more. In our opinion, these findings show that future research on our hypotheses would be fruitful.

Our work is best summed up in the frank words of V. O. Key:

> All these observations may amount to is the contention that if a democracy is to exist, the belief must be widespread that public opinion, at least in the long run, affects the course of public action. In a technical sense that belief may be a myth, an article of faith, yet its maintenance requires that it possess a degree of validity.[29]

FOOTNOTES

1. Herbert H. Hyman and Paul B. Sheatsley, "The Current Status of American Public Opinion," *Public Opinion and Propaganda*, ed. Daniel Katz, Dorwin Cartwright, Samuel Eldersveld, and Alfred Mclung Lee (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962), p. 38.

2. David Easton and Jack Dennis, "The Child's Acquisition of Regime Norms: Political Efficacy," paper read at the Midwest Conference of Political Scientists, April, 1966; Edgard Litt, "Civic Education, Community Norms, and Political Indoctrination," *American Sociological Review*, 28 (February, 1963), pp. 69-75.

3. Robert E. Agger, Marshall Goldstein, and Stanley Pearl, "Political Cynicism: Measurement and Meaning," *Journal of Politics*, 23 (August, 1961), 477-506; Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, *The Civic Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), pp. 180-257; Samuel H. Barnes, "Participation, Education, and Political Competence: Evidence From a Sample of Italian Socialists," *American Political Science Review*, 60 (June, 1966), pp. 248-53; Angus Campbell, Gerald Gurin, and Warren Miller, *The Voter Decides* (Evanston: Row, Peterson, 1954), pp. 187-94; Angus Campbell, Phillip Converse, Warren Miller, and Donald Stokes, *The American Voter* (New York: Wiley, 1960), pp. 105; 479-516; Robert A. Dahl, *Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), pp. 286-93; Samuel J. Eldersveld, "Experimental Propaganda Techniques and Voting Behavior," *American Political Science Review*, 50 (March, 1956), 154-65; John Horton and Wayne Thompson, "Powerlessness and Political Negativism: A Study of Defeated Local Referendums," *American Journal of Sociology*, 67 (March, 1962), p. 492; Kenneth Janda, "A Comparative Study of Political Alienation and Voting Behavior in Three Suburban Communities," *Studies in History and the Social Sciences: Studies in Honor of John A. Kinneman* (Normal, Ill.: Illinois State University Press, 1966), p. 64; V. O. Key, Jr., *Public Opinion and American Democracy* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965), pp. 193-94; Robert E. Lane, *Political Life: Why People Get Involved in Politics* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1959), pp. 147-55; Kenneth P. Langton, "Conjugal Power Structure and Political Socialization," paper read at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September, 1966, p. 6; Lester W. Milbrath, *Political Participation: How and Why Do People Get Involved in Politics?* (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1965), pp. 56-58.

In fact, only one investigation has found no relationship between sense of political efficacy and propensity to vote. This was the case of a politically active trade union, which surely creates strong pressures which induce its members to vote no matter what they think the vote is worth. Arthur Kornhauser, Albert J. Mayer, and Harold Sheppard, *When Labor Votes* (New York: University Books), p. 158.

Related research on small groups shows that the number of influence attempts a person makes varies directly with his belief that he is influential. John R. P. French, Jr. and Richard S. Snyder, "Leadership and Interpersonal Power," Studies in Social Power, ed. Dorwin Cartwright (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1959), pp. 150-65; George Levinger, "The Development of Perceptions and Behavior in Newly Formed Social Power Relationships," ibid., pp. 83-98; Ronald Lippitt, Norman Polansky, Fritz Redl, and Sidney Rosen, "The Dynamics of Power," Human Relations, 5 (1952), 37-64.

4. Edgar Litt, "Political Cynicism and Political Futility," Journal of Politics, 25 (May, 1963), p. 314. Also, cf. Agger, et al., op. cit.; Morton and Thompson, op. cit.; Janda, op. cit., p. 62.

The negative relationship between sense of political potency and political cynicism is expected to vanish in big cities. In such cities, it is claimed, political cynicism is widespread among all kinds of citizens, whatever their other attitudes or social position. This is exactly what Litt found in a ward in central Boston. Robert E. Agger, Daniel Goldrich, and Bert B. Swanson, The Rulers and the Ruled: Political Power and Impotence in American Communities (New York: Wiley, 1964), pp. 760-66; Litt, "Political Cynicism and Political Futility," op. cit.

5. Almond and Verba, op. cit., pp. 230-57; Langton, loc. cit.; Marvin E. Olsen, "Political Alienation: Conceptualization, Measurement, and Correlates," unpub. ms., n.d.

Compare these findings with the experimental evidence that satisfaction with group decisions varies directly with the sense of having participated in them. Sidney Verba, Small Groups and Political Behavior (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), pp. 206-43.

6. "Ineffectives" of various populations seem politically special in other ways less directly relevant to stable democracy. Cf. Campbell, et al., The American Voter, op. cit., pp. 105, 200, 479-519; Charles D. Farris, "Selected Attitudes on Foreign Affairs as Correlates of Authoritarianism and Political Anomie," Journal of Politics, 22 (February, 1960), 50-67; Horton and Thompson, op. cit.; Janda, op. cit.; Morris Janowitz and Dwaine Marvick, Competitive Pressure and Democratic Political Consent: An Interpretation of the 1952 Presidential Election (Michigan Governmental Studies No. 32, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, Bureau of Public Administration, 1956), pp. 5, 30-34, 100-03, 116-17; Key, op. cit., pp. 194-95, 303-04, 326-28, 505-07; Kornhauser, et al., op. cit., pp. 155-95; Lane, loc. cit.; Marvin E. Olsen, "Political Assimilation, Social Opportunities, and Political Alienation," unpub. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1965, passim.; Olsen, "Political Alienation: Conceptualization, Measurement, and Correlates," op. cit.,; Robert Sokol, "Liberal and Conservative Responses to Alienation," paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, September, 1964.

7. These interdependencies are heavily documented in Lane, *op. cit.*, *passim.*; Seymour Martin Lipset, *Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics* (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1963), pp. 87-126; Milbrath, *op. cit.*, *passim.*

8. Kurt Lewin, *Field Theory in Social Science* (Harper and Row, Publishers, Inc., 1951), p. 240, cited in J. Milton Yinger, *Toward a Field Theory of Behavior: Personality and Social Structure* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1965), p. 39.

9. Daniel Katz, "The Functional Approach to the Study of Attitudes," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 24 (Summer, 1960), 163-204; M. Brewster Smith, Jerome S. Bruner, and Robert White, *Opinions and Personality* (New York: Wiley, 1956), *passim.*

10. Note the parallel between this theory and Merton's theory of anomie-induced deviance, from which it sprang. Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1957), pp. 131-94.

Note, too, the striking isomorphism with small group studies on subjective and objective influence. Cf. Levinger, *op. cit.*; Lippitt, *et al.*; *op. cit.*

11. This possibility follows from current theories of self-consistency. Cf. Yinger, *op. cit.*, pp. 139-84.

12. Campbell, *et al.*, *The American Voter*, pp. 516-19; Elizabeth Douvan and Alan M. Walker, "The Sense of Effectiveness in Public Affairs," Psychological Monographs, 70, No. 22 (Whole No. 429, 1956).

If we accept Adorno's finding that authoritarianism indicates low ego strength, then the negative correlation between sense of political efficacy and authoritarianism lends more support to the assertion that sense of political efficacy varies directly with ego strength. T. W. Adorno, Else Frenkel-Brunswick, Daniel J. Levinson, and R. Nevitt Sanford, *The Authoritarian Personality* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., Science Editions, 1964), passim.; Janowitz and Marvick, "Authoritarianism and Political Behavior," *op. cit.*; Janowitz and Marvick, *Competitive Pressures and Democratic Consent*, op. cit.; p. 33, n. 2; Robert E. Lane, "Political Personality and Electoral Choice," *American Political Science Review*, 49 (March, 1955), 173-90; Sokol, *op. cit.*

13. This resembles Olsen's theory that social "disadvantages" hinder effective social activity, blame for which hindrance is displaced from the social system to the political one. We simply take these social disadvantages as political disadvantages, i.e., they also hinder effective political activity. Olsen, "Political Assimilation, Social Opportunities, and Political Alienation," *op. cit.*, *passim.*

14. This possibility is suggested by Kornhauser, *et al.* (*op. cit.*, p. 160) to explain the positive correlation between interest in politics and sense of political potency. It also fits into theories of self-consistency (Cf. n. 11, above).

15. Dahl, *loc. cit.*; Daniel Goldrich, Raymond B. Pratt, and C. R. Schuller, "The Political Integration of Lower Class Urban Settlements in Chile and Peru: A Provisional Inquiry," paper read at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, September, 1966; Daniel Goldrich and Edward W. Scott, "Developing Political Orientations of Panimanian Students," *Journal of Politics*, 23 (February, 1961), reprinted in *The Dynamics of Change in Latin American Politics* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965), pp. 237-50; Herbert McClosky, "Consensus and Ideology in American Politics," *American Political Science Review*, 58 (June, 1964), 361-82; Arnold M. Rose, "Alienation and Participation: A Comparison of Group Leaders and the 'Mass'," *American Sociological Review*, 27 (December, 1962), 834-38.

16. Only one of the three remaining members refused to be interviewed; another was not approached because she was in mourning; the third was out of Cory all summer. Data for the other two towns was discarded when time grew too scarce to complete a good sample.

17. Socio-economic status is indexed by the Chapin Social Status (Living Room) Scale, revised 1952, as reported in Delbert C. Miller, *Handbook of Research Design and Social Measurement* (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1964), pp. 114-19.

18. Social participation is indexed by the Chapin Social Participation Scale, 1952 edition, as reported in *ibid.*, pp. 208-11.

19. Local political cognition is indexed by a set of items in the personal interview schedule which ask the respondent to identify the role of various actors (individuals and groups) on two issues of local importance (the establishment of a wildlife refuge and the reorganization of local schools). Each item also asked the respondent how well he knew that actor's position and encouraged him to guess. Guesses could thus be separated from inaccurate knowledge and be disregarded in computing the index.

20. The salience items are:

1) Do you follow the accounts of political and governmental affairs? Would you say you follow them: regularly, usually, now and then, never.

2) Thinking about the national government in Washington, D.C., about how much effect do you think its activities, the laws passed and so on, have on your day to day life? Great effect, quite a bit, some effect, no effect.

3) Now, about how much effect do you think the activities of the Township Board of Trustees has on your day to day life? Great effect, quite a bit, some effect, no effect.

4) It has been said that the schools of your community may be reorganized. How much have you heard about this? Very much, quite a bit, not much, nothing at all.

5) How important is school reorganization to you? Very, very important, very important, important, unimportant.

6) It is said that a wildlife refuge may soon be set up in this area. How much have you heard about this? Very much, quite a bit, not much, nothing at all.

7) How important is the wildlife refuge to you? Very, very important, very important, important, unimportant.

Responses were dichotomized: the first two of each item were considered "salient." The coefficient of reproducibility of .86 improved response prediction over the minimal marginal reproducibility of .73 by 13 percentage points.

21. Neither reputation nor politicization adequately determines the identify of decision-makers. It must be remembered, however, that a reputation for influence may be a base of such influence. (Cf. Herbert A. Simon, "Notes on the Observation and Measurement of Political Power," Journal of Politics, 15 (1953), 500-16.)

Moreover, even Who Governs?--the paragon of the "anti-reputationalists," relies heavily on the reports of local knowledgeables. It is hard to see how a short-term community study could do otherwise. (For a statement of the "anti-reputational" position, cf. Nelson W. Polsby, Community Power and Political Theory (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963.)

In a later part of the project, the reputed influentials ranked each other on the probability, direction, and intensity of response to each of three hypothetical community problems. Professor Gore is using these ratings to predict the outcomes of several local decisions; successful prediction would constitute hypothetico-deductive validation of this power structure study. (These results will be reported elsewhere by Professor Gore.)

22. This is the Almond-Verba subjective local competence scale, scored exactly as the originators scored each item. Almond and Verba, op. cit., pp. 231-32, n. 1.

One item, however, was dropped because it failed to discriminate: "Suppose a regulation were being considered by the Township Board of Trustees that you considered unjust or harmful. What do you think you could do about it?" Every respondent could think of something.

The coefficient of reproducibility was .91, which improved response prediction over the minimal marginal reproducibility of .84 by 7 percentage points.

23. Ibid., p. 184. Coefficient of reproducibility = .86, minimal marginal reproducibility = .63.

24. Almond and Verba found that people in five nations feel more competent in local politics than in national politics. But they did not compare people's expectations of the same local government. Ibid., pp. 184-89.

25. Almond and Verba left their analysis of this relationship at the bivariate stage, concluding that "the distribution of scores on the subjective (local) competence scale is not affected by the size of towns in which respondents live." Ibid., p. 234.

Nonetheless, they also make much of their finding that subjective local competence is highest in those nations which institutionalize the availability of local government to ordinary citizens (p. 188).

Our multivariate analysis tries to show that these two findings result from the same generalization, namely, our basic proposition.

26. At the time of analysis, no program was availble to punch Guttman scale scores directly onto cards. Although a more tedious procedure was feasible for the small field study, the time and personnel required to accurately do this by hand were not within our grasp for an N of 970. Consequently, each item was scored "0" for an "incompetent" response and "1" for a "competent" response.

27. I am grateful to Professor Ostrom for mentioning this point, which is conspicuous by its absence in the literature.

It is also germane to add that the Survey Research Center's sense of political efficacy scale (Campbell, et al., The Voter Decides, op. cit., pp. 187-88,) has a similar bias toward voting, which is compounded by its concern with officials and a failure to specify the level(s) of government to which the items refer.

(We would suspect that most respondents take national politics as the referent of these items, while their attitudes toward other levels of government, or government in general, may or may not be the same. Cf. David Easton and Jack Dennis, "The Child's Image of Government," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 361 (September, 1965), pp. 50-51.)

28. Granted that this fallacy is intrinsic to cross-sectional survey research, it follows that other techniques (but not necessarily a full-blown panel study) are required to supplement survey measures of durable personal dispositions.

29. Key, op. cit., p. 547.

Richard Levin 9

ATTITUDINAL INFLUENCE IN CENTERPOINT

That there exists in any social community some controlling entity which acts to prejudice and influence the shape and conditions of our interaction with groups and among individuals is an accepted fact of reality; accordingly, the adjustment of individual personalities to such norm operatives assumes a high level of importance with regard to any investigation concerning the subjective nature of interpersonal relationships--or social interaction, transcended in significance perhaps only by the manner in which and the medium through which these interactions are identified, and the extent to which any institution reflects or propogates them.

Since the "church" in Centerpoint is largely recognized as the most expansive complex in the area, it became a logical direction from which to execute an investigation into social conformity in attitude formation and in idea expression. But, because this research gravitates around the proposed control of the church, it becomes incumbent that a functional concept or frame of reference be established from the outset. By the church's control, then, I am referring to its capacity to energize and inhibit the thoughts of its members, and these members' subsequent and resultant action-structure; any individual who attends a number of the church's religious or social functions becomes a member of the church, and any individual's action-structure is the logical and overt reaction which eventuates from his larger belief complex.

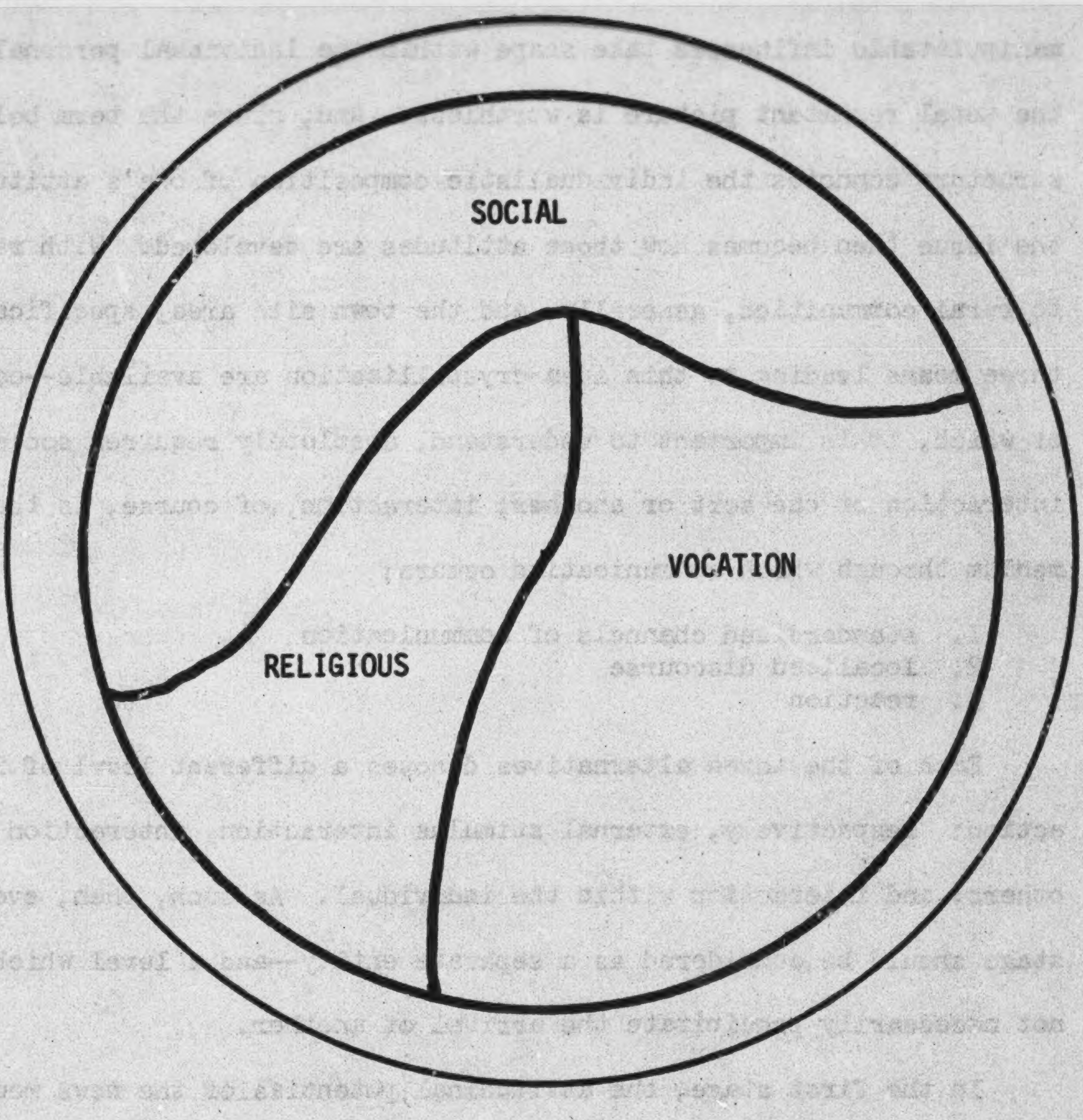
Thus, referring back to my general introduction, it is conceivable that the church mediates, i.e., controls, the behavior of the people of the town site area through its inroads into their everyday living. But because the very nature of living involves and takes into consideration so many intervening and, thus, by nature unidentifiable and undefinable variables, it becomes necessary to limit my frame of context to those aspects of living which most extensively take up his monthly or weekly time investment. Of course, it is nearly impossible to isolate the actions of the human animal--but it is reasonable to assume that, outside of his particular vocation, the social and religious spheres of a town site inhabitant constitute the remainder of his total time expenditure; the religious hemisphere is defined to include all those strictly religious-oriented activities within the realm of the church, such as the attendance of religious services and declared membership to a specific denomination; whereas the social hemisphere is a loosely inclusive extracurricular framework taking into account both church-oriented and nonchurch-oriented experiences, such as, on the one hand, attendance of church socials and picnics, and on the other--participation in the Elks Club events. Thus, by specifying these two sectors of human life, it becomes further conceivable, then, that inferential conclusions can be reached analyzing the extent and the nature of the church's control.

Perhaps Diagram I further illustrates this point.

Now that we have tentatively established two aspects available to potential mediation, as well as the equal potentiality for control to be exerted in these areas by the church, it becomes reasonable to postulate that the church significantly influences the lives of the town site's citizenry as a result of that institution's deep involvement in the social and religious hemispheres of Centerpoint's inhabitants.

4

Diagram I


SOCIAL
VOCATION
RELIGIOUS

But, before an exacting hypothesis can be stipulated, it is important that we first recognize the ways in which a belief-structure is initially developed; certainly, without such a conceptualization, understanding the entity which most influences their attitudes becomes meaningless; in other words, without an understanding of how these manipulatable influences take shape within the individual personality, the total resultant picture is worthless. And, since the term belief-structure connotes the individualistic composition of one's attitudes, the issue then becomes how those attitudes are developed. With regard to rural communities, generally, and the town site area, specifically, three means leading to this idea-crystallization are available--each of which, it is important to understand, absolutely requires social interaction of one sort or another; interaction, of course, is the medium through which communication occurs:

1. standardized channels of communication
2. localized discourse
3. reaction

Each of the three alternatives denotes a different level of interaction: respectively, external stimulus interaction, interaction with others, and interaction within the individual. As such, then, every stage should be considered as a separate entity--and a level which does not necessarily precipitate the arrival of another.

In the first stage, the attitudinal potential of the news media becomes important; that one's ideas may be subjected to prejudicial influence through television, radio, or the newspaper is obvious. However, because of human nature's seemingly innate tendency to receive information critically through these media, this potential is severely limited from acquiring dominant "sway-"capacities. The viability of this hypothesis especially lends itself to the Centerpoint area where, not only are the people's national cognizance and national-competence to a greater or lesser extent deprived, but so also is their suspicion of technological communication overly developed. Moreover, and perhaps an even more crucial factor, due to more demanding commitments to their particular vocation or other extracurricular activities, their time available to invest in these news media is limited, a fact which further suggests that the control exerted through this channel or stage of communication is relatively limited.

However, the second level--that of localized discourse, lends itself to a great degree to control and influence. Since the townsite people allot much of their time, and for the most part unconsciously, to social interaction with other individuals, i.e., association with a limited number of people at frequent intervals, and since verbal communication is the normal means of interaction, it is likely that much of their idea-crystallization is formed through this second-alternative stimulus. Realistically speaking, normal conversation touches upon many areas in which an individual is particularly concerned, i.e., topics to which one has relegated previous attention and thought; these areas, moreover, create an opportunity for opinion expression, and it is highly unlikely that any communication of opinion will occur in which total agreement is reached. Thus, it is through this inevitable resultant disagreement that a significant opportunity for attitudinal change and interchange is created.

Moreover, alternative two lends itself to an even more important function--that of group interaction in the forms of debate and argument;

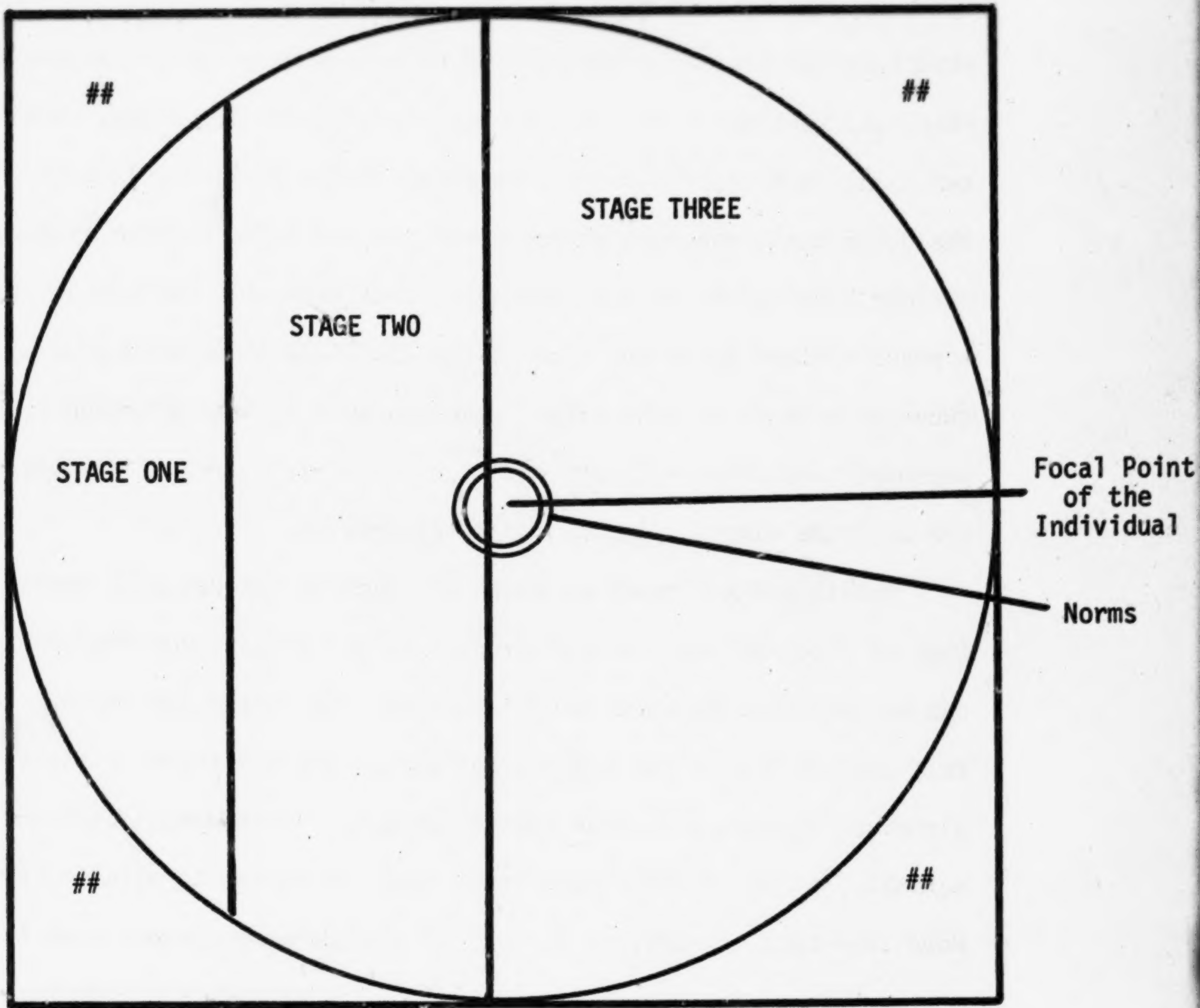
thus, whereas thought formation within smaller discussions may eventuate, the expression of many more and more pronounced ideas through the presence of a greater number of persons suggests limitless potential for attitude conformity. And, since the human social animal is ever willing to integrate and to modify his ideas with those already socially acknowledged, greater thought transfer and subsequent attitude reformation here occurs.

Whereas, then, this second level may produce boundless, nevertheless, temporal, ramifications, the third--"reaction," provides a concrete opportunity to evaluate the more enduring aspects of productive interaction--those which stabilize within the individual's personality; accordingly, it is with this level that I have been most concerned. By "reaction," I mean, more specifically, an individual's extended consideration rendered to a generally expounded and acknowledged attitude, vis-a-vis level two wherein this contemplation may not necessarily lead to any more consideration than is demanded to offer an acceptable rebuttal to a point of disagreement. And, furthermore, a registered effect as a result of this extended consideration can be evaluated and analyzed; because this change is directly within the personality's belief-structure, test-retest methods can be devised to measure this registered effect, i.e., change. It is through this third stage, then, that the most consequential and most stable attitude changes take place. (See Diagram II)

Whereas, since interaction within level one can take place almost at any time and under nearly any circumstances, and since interaction under stages two and three requires successively more well-defined

Diagram II

THE INDIVIDUAL AND ATTITUDINAL CHANGE THROUGH INTERACTION


##
##
STAGE THREE
STAGE TWO
STAGE ONE
Focal Point of the Individual
Norms
##
##

- Areas where individual is immune to attitude modification

situations, it logically follows that the extent of investment of personal resources plays an important role as to the effect that interaction has on the individual's belief-structure; that is, the more the personal investment of individual resources, the greater the ramifications of change. For example, in situation one, often only trivial attention and nominal concentration is paid because of the manner in which the news media or this external stimulus is presented, such as switching on a television news broadcast while preparing dinner. On the other hand, however, alternatives two and three require attendance at some convocation or involvement in some gathering for which, usually, a predetermined place and time is required. In other words, each successive level of interaction requires more of this aforementioned personal investment--the net result of which is a greater readiness for attitude expression and thought-conversion.

Relating this framework construct back to the original problem--that of institutional control over processes of attitude conformity, it can be hypothesized that, since the social and religious hemispheres fall largely within the confines of levels two and three, greater belief-structure alterations occur here--usually in a conforming tendency; and, actually, it is in both these areas that the church is vitally involved. More than this, though, it is through each of these levels that the church derives its purpose for existence and through which it persists and thrives.

It is significant to note that it is through stages two and three, especially three, that the norms of the society or community are expounded, and, more importantly, are realized; moreover, through various processes of individual consideration, reflection, and interpretation, these norms become translated into manifested aspects of an individual's action-structure. And, since we are dealing with a small community, it is likely that nearly everyone will be cognizant of the various values, i.e., norm conformacies; in effect, then, there exists in Centerpoint a greater general acceptance of various values than would occur in a larger community, values which become measurable through verbal responses. And it is through these verbal responses that the belief-structures of the town site citizenry can be properly measured, evaluated, and appraised.

Now that a functioning theoretical conceptualization has been suggested, it is possible to tentatively establish the role of the church as the controller of these various levels of interaction: that the function of the church, because it penetrates the social and religious hemispheres of the town site people, provides ample opportunity for stages two and three, and, therefore, does to a very meaningful extent energize and inhibit, i.e., control, the ideas and the general resultant behavior of its citizenry.

However, accepting that the practical problem of mass verbal conformity exists in Centerpoint, stemming from the general acquaintance with expressed norms and conformed actions, there further exists the more reasonable possibility that the church, itself, is actually the subject, rather than the initiator, of other controlling forces to which the inhabitants are similarly responsible. In other words, it is my hypothesis that the church, in fact, is but a part of a larger complex of mediating elements which together act to integrate and formalize individual's belief-structures and resultant action-structures, the manifestation of which are his verbal responses.

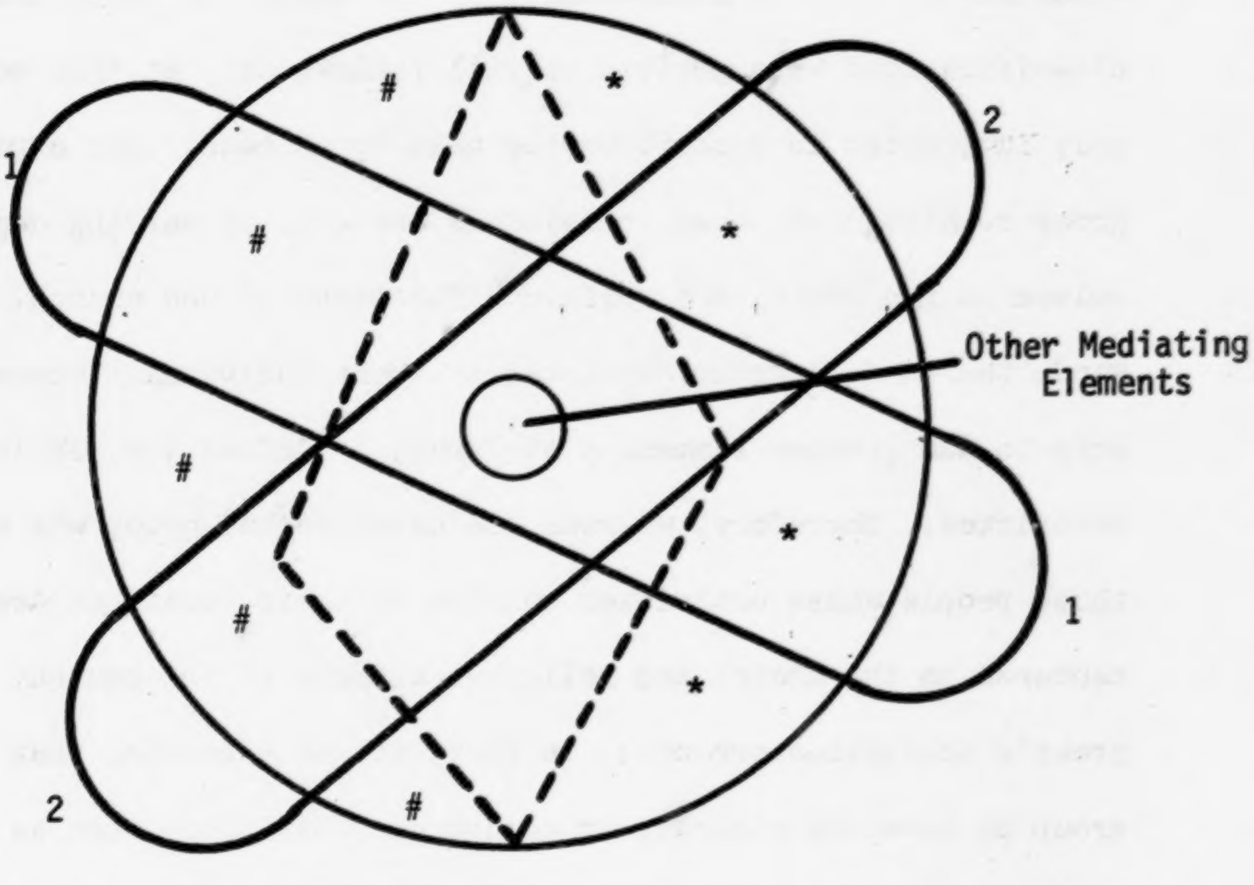
Perhaps the diagram III further illustrates this idea.

It is all too easy to postulate a general theory such as I have done, but it becomes a much more difficult problem to evaluate and demonstrate statistically, through a valid and realiable approach, the actual existence of hypothetical circumstances. The central issue of my particular investigation is that of sophisticated control--control of an independent variable by which to measure its influence to determine whether, in fact, the church is the controller or the controlled, the initiator or receptor of opinion. The most important variable then becomes religiosity, that is, the extent to which the church does or does not control, as the case may be, the belief-structure of the individual concerned. With knowledge of the belief structure, as I have previously indicated, sufficient conclusions can be drawn regarding any individual's action-structure, and, then, with knowledge of both, valid conclusions regarding the reliability of my general assumption--that the church is subject to the same controlling entity as is the general community--can be made.

But, because we were dealing with human beings, and, more importantly, because any inquiry dealing with humans can occur only in an ex post facto circumstance in which an ideal experimental situation is literally impossible, I had to satisfy myself with the best possible controls available; that is, rather than creating a set of circumstances into which individuals could be placed, I had to manipulate a pre-existent and pre-designed control into the existing situation. Thus, the four group classification method into which individuals were processed and

Diagram III

VARIOUS ENTITIES' INFLUENCE ON ATTITUDES FORMATION


1
2
#
*
Other Mediating Elements
1
2

- 1 elipse = Church Control
- 2 elipse = Non-Church Control
- Rhombus and enclosed area = control area not influenced by either
- # = extent of Church Control
- * = extent of non-Church Control

from which reasonably valid experimental conditions were available, was created. Prior to my discussion of these groups, however, the diagram below will prove useful to avoid confusion as the method used is further elaborated.

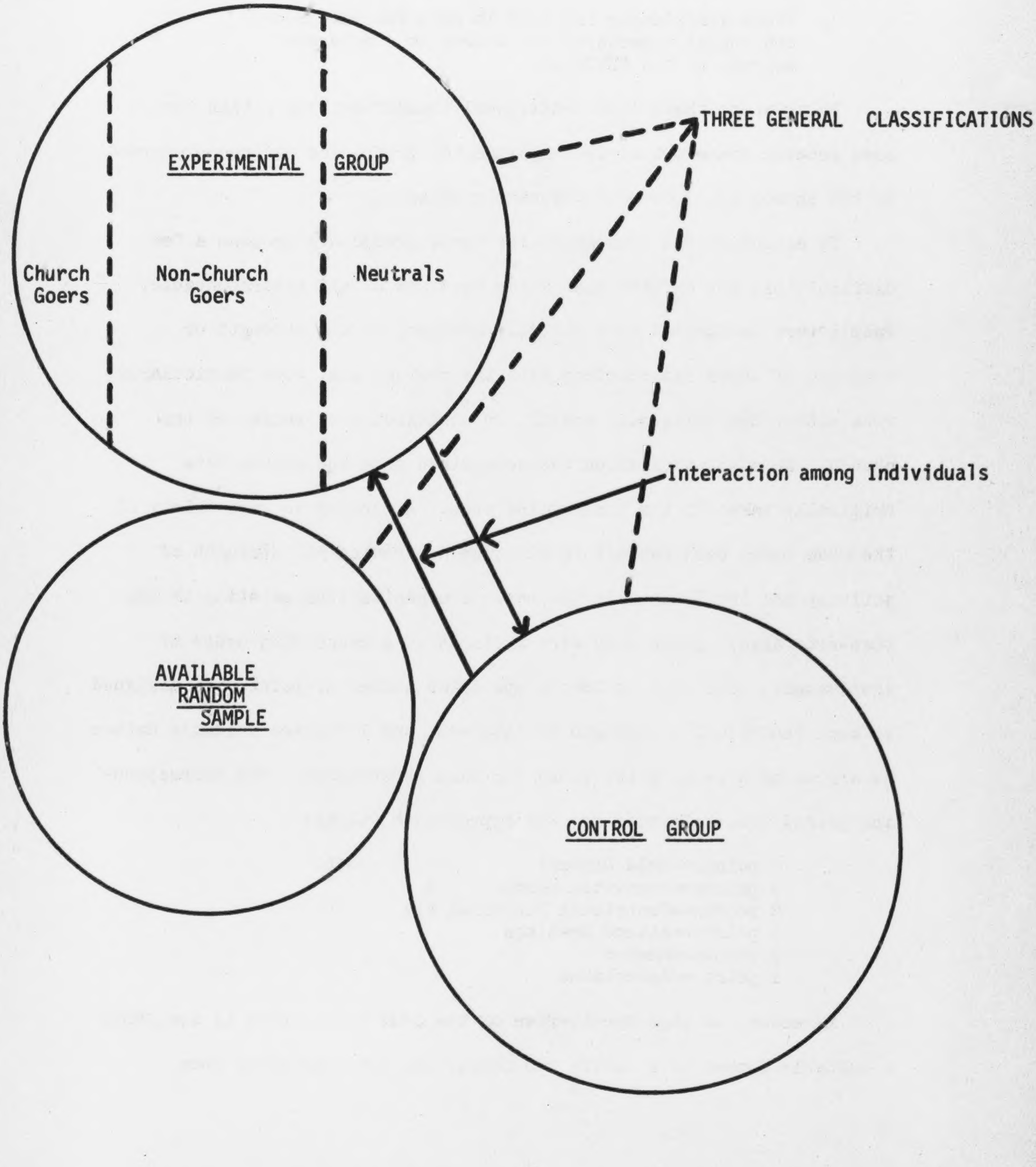
Perhaps the diagram IV further illustrates this point.

To control for the independent variable's influence at work in Centerpoint, two general groups of people were used: a control and an experimental group. A discussion of the manner in which the various classifications were arrived at will follow, but, at this point, I am only interested in describing the make-up of each. The experimental group consisted of those individuals who are, in varying degrees, involved in the social and religious functions of the church. On the other hand, the control group consisted of those individuals whose relationship to the greater community at-large, by definition, is in no way restricted. Therefore, whereas the experimental group was made up of those people whose activities outside of their vocations are largely centered in the social and religious aspects of the church, the control group's activities are not: in fact, it was essential that the control group be involved strictly in nonchurch activities--such as the Elks Club. By making this clear distinction between these two groups, then, there became available a practical medium thorugh which to evaluate the extent the church functions as an influence throughout the town-site area.

In addition, within the experimental group, there were three categories determined, those of:

1. The higher church attenders who participate almost entirely within the religious realm of that institution, or the CHURCH-GOERS.

Diagram IV


THREE GENERAL CLASSIFICATIONS
EXPERIMENTAL GROUP
Church Goers
Non-Church Goers
Neutrals
Interaction among Individuals
AVAILABLE RANDOM SAMPLE
CONTROL GROUP

2. The high church attenders who participate almost entirely within the social realm of that institution, or the NONCHURCH-GOERS.

3. Those individuals involved in both the religious and social aspects of the church to a moderate degree, or the NEUTRALS.

By creating these three additional classifications within the more general framework of the experimental group, the influence exerted by the church could be more adequately measured.

To establish the boundaries for these groups did propose a few difficulties, but difficulties which were not at all insurmountable. People were designated to a suitable category by the strength or weakness of their associations with the church, and, more particularly, with either the religious, social, or nonassociation realms of the church. This stratification was determined from the census data originally taken in the Centerpoint area. According to page thirty of the code book, each subject interviewed designated his strength of activity and involvement in the various organizations existing in the town-site area. Since they were arranged in a descending order of involvement, from high to low, a specified number of points was assigned to each individual's strength of interest, and it became a simple matter to arrive at a total point score for each interviewee. The corresponding points were relegated for the appropriate values:

6 points==Hold Office
5 points==Committee Member
4 points==Contribute Financial Aid
3 points==Attend Meetings
2 points==Member
1 point ==Associated

Moreover, on page twenty-five of the code book, there is available a suitable method to classify the individual into one of my four stratifications. According to his particular answer to both of these questions--(1) Is he a member of a church, and

(2) How often does he attend church--

the individuals were processed in one of the following ways:

1. Is he a member of a church?
    a. Yes
    b. No

2. How often does this person attend church?
    a. Never
    b. Now and then
    c. Fairly often
    d. Regularly

A. Control Group--those people who are not members of and who "never" attend a church

B. Neutrals--those people who are or are not members of a church and who attend "fairly often" or "now and then."

C. Church Goers--those people who are members of and who "regularly" attend a church.

D. Nonchurch Goers--those people who are or are not members of but "never" attend a church's religious services.

After, then, this division of individuals along these predetermined categories was arrived at, the second and most crucial of the research stages took place--that of belief-structure measurement. In this stage, a group of twenty-seven questions, selected from scattered theoretical categories, was incorporated into the questionnaire. This questionnaire, then, provided for the measurement of any number of attitudes ranging for example, from political to economic issues, religious to civil rights attitudes, and from patriotic to anti-American questions. From the answers of the subjects, various scores were tallied, and through these, then, my hypothesis could be adequately tested.

However, to take into account the possibility that the results obtained from this questionnaire were representative of chance rather than of true feelings, one additional control was effected--that of an available random sample; that is, individuals who were otherwise excluded from my testing were, then, by pure random chance, included within the realm of this questionnaire. Thus, a further means of evaluating my original assumption was provided.

The individuals in Centerpoint whowere designated as part of this investigation are listed here, beside of which is their total point score for extracurricular involvement.

CHURCH GOERS	NONCHURCH GOERS	NEUTRALS	CONTROL
Helen Megenhardt--21	-------------**	Edna McKinney-21	Russel Mace--22
Mary Wright-7	Hazel Mace-7	Charles Eder-7	Bryant Pugh-6
Mary Strough-2	Rex Megenhardt-3	Roxie Rentschler-2	Ronald Reams-2
Walter Huber-0	Dorothy Hoffa-0	Ruth Wells-0	Chas. Tucker-0

RANDOM

Reverend Carlos Dunagon-12
Rosella Parks-63
Mona Lawson-9
Donna Overpeck-0

**The only individual who fit into this category will not return from his vacation until mid-August.

Perhaps, before I discuss the results produced from my questionnaire (which is included in the appendix) it would be pertinent to mention briefly a few of its defects which, unfortunately, only became apparent to me after I had progressed through most of the inquiry. The two most significant drawbacks seem to lie in its structuring: the first being the poor arrangement of questions, the second--the fact that the three questions following each "situation" were not stated in the same way consistently throughout. Furthermore, questions 7 and 17 proved entirely worthless because of a missed alternative and a poor word choice which most of the subjects did not understand. Other than these two failures in the questionnaire, however, it generally appeared successful, and emitted the immediate responses for which I was looking.

From the questionnaire itself, five primary variables combining the answers from several questions were identified and selected for the data analysis. These variables are:

1. government interest
2. political participation
3. taxation
4. comprehensive 1
5. comprehensive 5

(The questions incorporated into the variables are listed in the appendix.)

The statistical measure selected for the analysis was the Goodman-Kruskal TauB, because it afforded the particular comparison for significant variance among the answers of the different respondents and, moreover, there would be no significant correlation between the particular groups, i.e., church goers, neutrals, and so forth, and the way in which they answered any particular question. If, however, my hypothetical operative was in fact incorrect, not only would there be a statistically significant correlation between any subject's classification and his responses, but so also would there evolve a high degree of variance among the individual subjects, regardless of their activities scores or the extent and the nature of their church affiliations. For matters of expediency and clarity, I will briefly consider each variable and then draw any necessary and obvious general conclusions.

With regard to variable #1, "government interest," the Goodman-Kruskal TauB significance level was 0.139. Because the questions comprised for this variable gravitated around the subjects' level of interest, his resultant degree of participation, and the nature of this participation, the available answers were geared to cover the range of the topic as concisely, and as meaningfully, as possible. Since the statistical variance among the class specifications is almost nonexistant, it can be assumed that the class to which any individual belonged, and thus, by definition, the type of community participation in which the individual is involved, had almost no influence on his attitudes toward and interest in governmental affairs. It is further reasonable to state, to the inherent and unidentifiable limits of my questionnaire, that the church, in fact, is not now, nor has it been, the controlling or primary influence in this area of the Centerpoint personality's belief structure.

Perhaps the matrix following further illustrates this point.

MATRIX #1

per cents by column

POINTS:	CONTROL	NEUTRAL	NONCHURCH-GOER	CHURCH-GOER
0	0	0	0	0
7	50.0	50.0	33.3	50.0
4	50.0	0.0	33.3	25.0
1	0.0	25.0	0.0	0.0
3	0.0	25.0	33.3	25.0

Goodman Kruskal TAUB = 0.139

This matrix further illustrates the point that the type and degree of any individual's participation in the church has absolutely minimal correlation with his manifested belief-structure. For example, the data for the control group corresponds almost exactly to the figures for the church goers, both groups which, by definition, are absolutely opposed to each other in church participation, but whose answers to the questions markedly agree. The same is true when considering the nature of church participation. For example, the responses of the neutrals similarly corresponds to the church goers, both of which groups vary, by definition, significantly in their strength and type of association with the church. (It is important to reiterate at this point that the church's influence is the entity being measured, and that extracurricular membership and involvement was used only as a control so as to eliminate the most obvious and most important confounding possibility. In other words, by stratifying the subjects according to their nonchurch participation, a primary variable was controlled for, as well as the fact that an additional criterion for group classification was specified.)

Variable #2, "political participation," followed very much the same pattern as did variable #1. For "political participation," the Goodman-Kruskal TauB showed a variance of 0.154. In other words, the correlations between the classification the individual was in and his score was almost totally nonexistent. (It is also important to note that, when we consider the relationship "class vs. variable x," we are considering the relationship between the strength of the church's output, i.e., church's influence, versus the extent of the individual's reception, i.e., his subjectiveness to the church's output.) Thus, just as variable #1, the influence of the church is not statistically significant in the area of "political participation."

Furthermore, since the questions incorporated into this variable were aimed specifically at political participation, it is meaningful to note the possible cause for the slightness of the church's impact on this aspect of the individual's belief-structure. In this case, the low correlation could merely result from a conscious effort on the part of the church and the church leaders to remain outside the political realm. But it is more reasonable, however, to assume that, since the political spectrum in Centerpoint is relatively limited, that "localized discourse" and "reaction" in this area is, in fact, general and widespread, and by the fact of the general relationships among the community's inhabitants, that the area of "political participation" is as much a part of the "church" as it is any other single area of community life.

The matrix below may further illustrate this nonsignificant relationship.

MATRIX #2

per cent by column

POINT:	CONTROL	NEUTRAL	NONCHURCH-GOER	CHURCH-GOER
0	0	0	0	0
1	0.0	0.0	33.3	0.0
7	50.0	50.0	33.3	50.0
6	50.0	50.0	33.3	25.5
1	0.0	0.0	0.0	25.5

Goodman Kruskal TAUB = 0.154

Again, it is significant to note that, as in governmental interest, the correlation between the classification and the verbal responses of the individual is almost nil. Thus, the answers of the group who participate both in the religious and social aspects of the church (neutrals) exactly correspond to that group (control) which does not consciously involve itself in the diverse activities of the church.

The similar situation that exists for variable #1 and variable #2, also marks the conditions of variable #3. Here, for the variable "taxation," the Goodman-Kruskal TauB is 0.195. The questions that were incorporated into this variable were from a "situation" outlined in the questionnaire--designed to measure the 'liberality' or 'conservativeness' of the individuals' attitudes toward taxes and the method of taxation, his general willingness to pay them, and his satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the existing system. Here again, the classification to which the respondent belonged had almost no significant correspondence with his measured attitudes. Perhaps the matrix below further points to this fact.

MATRIX #3

per cent by column

POINT	CONTROL	NEUTRAL	NONCHURCH-GOER	CHURCH-GOER
0	0	0	0	0
2	0.0	0.0	33.3	25.0
6	50.0	50.0	0.0	50.0
2	25.0	25.0	0.0	0.0
3	0.0	25.0	33.3	25.5
2	25.0	0.0	33.3	0.0

Goodman Kruskal TAUB = 0.195

Once more, a comparison between the control group and the "neutrals" exhibits similarity in the selection of their answers, and shows a near 'zero' correlation between church's influence and subjects' reception of that influence.

Variables #4 and #5, however, do exhibit a slightly different trend from those of the preceding elements. In both these cases, a nonsignificant relationship appears, but one which is from one-and-one-half to two times as great as those of the preceding variables. In variable #4, for example, the Goodman-Kruskal TauB was 0.308. The questions which were incorporated into this variable, called "comprehensivel," were general in nature, and questions whose purpose, then, was nondirected and amoebic. However, all the questions had in common one general tendency--their association with some alleged recent trend in the United States, such as Socialism, limited freedom of speech, and the increasing numerical restrictions placed on the exercise of general individual privileges. Althouth TauB in the case of variable #4 was much higher than that of the preceding variables, nevertheless, the significance of this particular relationship is very slight, and not at all viable in demonstrating a reliable association with the church's influence in the Centerpoint area.

The same is true for variable #5. The questions used in comprising this variable, called "comprehensive 5," were also of a very general nature--touching upon many loosely related areas from those of economic to religious issues, from taxation to patriotism, and from the pragmatic and the practical to the hypothetical and the theoretical. In this instance, the Goodman-Kruskal TauB was 0.393. And, in this instance, although the correlation is significantly higher than those of the preceding variables, it is, nonetheless, a very insignificant relationship. Perhaps the matrix below further illustrates this point.

MATRIX #4

per cent by column

POINT	CONTROL	NEUTRAL	NONCHURCH-GOER	CHURCH-GOER
0	0	0	0	0
4	50.0	0.0	0.0	50.0
1	0.0	0.0	33.3	0.0
5	25.0	75.0	0.0	25.0
3	25.0	0.0	33.3	25.0
1	0.0	0.0	33.3	0.0
1	0.0	25.0	0.0	0.0

Goodman-Kruskal TAUB = 0.393

For example, for the opposed groups, by definition, of church-goers and control, which take into consideration markedly different types of and varying extents of church association, the percentages exactly correspond. Thus, here again, as in variable #4, as well as all those preceding, the church's influence is slight, as manifested by the lack of significant correlation between the groups into which the subjects were processed, based upon the nature of their church participation, and their attitudes measured by the questionnaire.

It is also interesting to note that, in sixteen of nineteen cases of the interviewed subjects, the State congressman was identified as the elected official most closely associated with governmental policy most affecting the individual. This certainly would afford a contrast between Centerpoint and any significantly larger community. And, although it is stretching the point to incorporate this statistic into the larger supportive data analysis, it is still relevant to the theoretical framework around which this research has gravitated.

Thus, in each variable I chose to identify and specify from the questionnaire and questionnaire data, the significance level between group classification and manifested belief-structure has been grossly nonsignificant. Moreover, in every case, the interview answers of the control group has closely paralleled those of the neutrals, the answers of the church-goers, and in most instances, those of the nonchurch-goers. Thus, the data of the individuals who, by definition and in their daily existence, do neither belong to nor attend a church, was very similar to the attitudes and feelings reflected by the individual comprising the experimental group who participate to an extended degree in the social and/or religious hemispheres of the church. In other words, membership to and participation in the church seemingly does neither alter nor meaningfully influence the ideas of the Centerpoint community, nor does it appear that the subjective condition of church membership, in itself, adds to or subtracts from the general network or framework of communication in Centerpoint. Rather, my original suggestion appears to be correct--that the church, in fact, is subject to the same influences as is the general community, at-large.

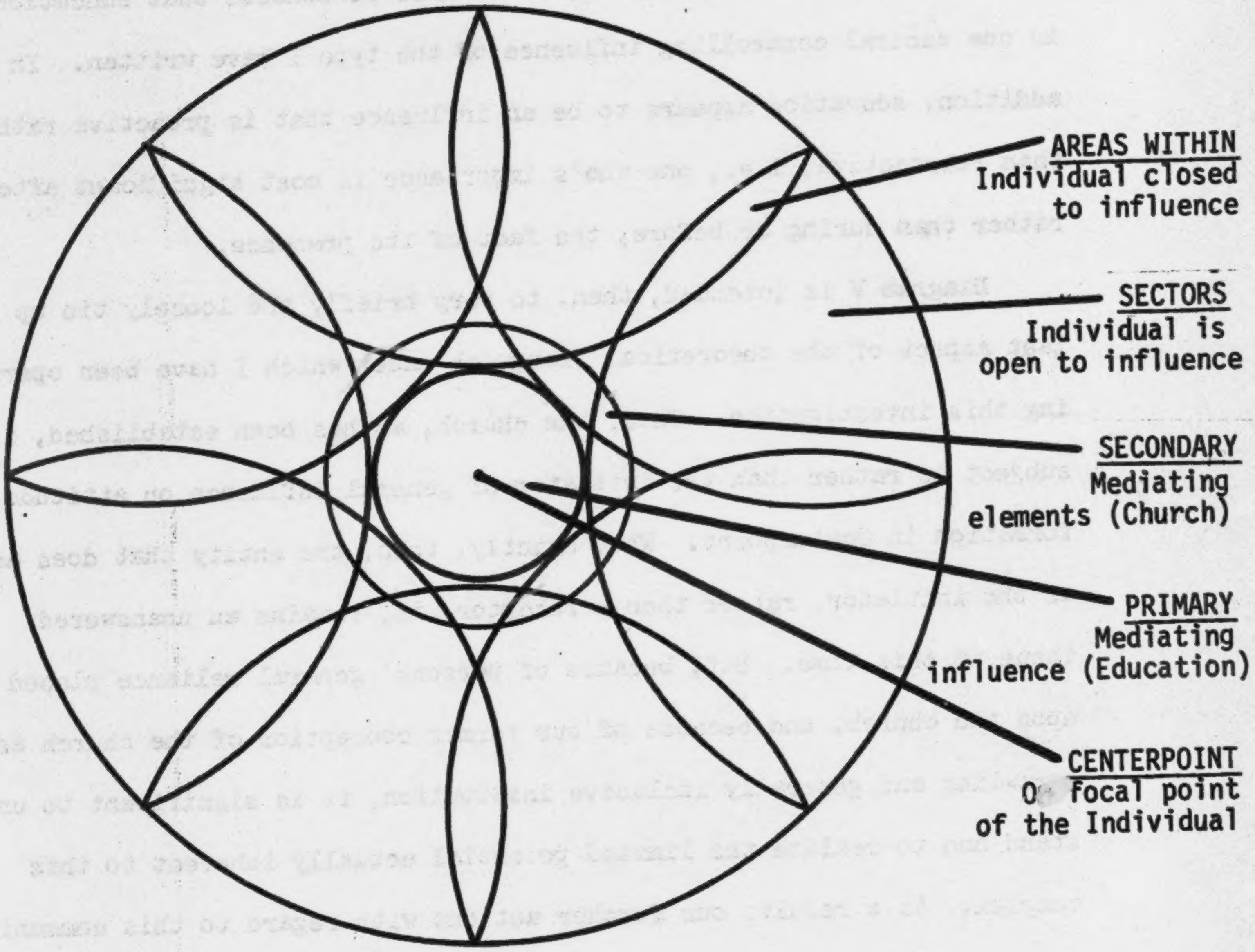
Indeed, because the attitudes expressed by answers to various questions do closely correspond across groups, it is reasonable to assume that there exists some entity in the Centerpoint area which does initiate and influence thought-crystallization, the closely related belief-structure, and the resultant action-structure of individuals in the community. To define this element can be only speculation at this time. (It is in this area I hope to continue my research.) However, in the Centerpoint vicinity, there stands out at least one entity which possess the previously discussed and essential qualities, characteristics, and criteria--that of 'education.' It is my personal and totally unsubstantiated opinion that the location and, more importantly, the amount of schooling, i.e., education, is that element or entity which most influences the town site citizenry. Because any institution is only as good or as bad as its leaders and participants, it appears that the real influence, then, lies within the capacities of the individuals. And, moreover, these capacities are extended or shortened through previous training of various types centered in the school. Thus, in the postulated case of education, an individual's like, dislikes, tendencies toward and away from various interests, and so forth, are developed to varying extents during and under the influence and guidance of the schooling period.

Moreover, the degree to which these various interests, etc., are crystallized is a responsibility of education, just as is education responsible for the extent to which these same qualities later become manifested aspects of the action-structure. Thus, since it is likely that the education location and education level of the Centerpoint community is generally the same, it is also reasonable that education is one central controlling influence of the type I have written. In addition, education appears to be an influence that is proactive rather than retroactive, i.e., one who's importance is most significant after, rather than during or before, the fact of its presence.

Diagram V is intended, then, to very briefly and loosely tie up this last aspect of the theoretical framework under which I have been operating this investigation. Thus, the church, as has been established, is subject to rather than the initiator of general influence on attitude formation in Centerpoint. What exactly, then, the entity that does act as the initiator, rather than a receptor, is, remains an unanswered issue at this time. But, because of persons' general reliance placed upon the church, and because of our former conception of the church as a sprawling and generally inclusive institution, it is significant to understand and to realize the limited potential actually inherent to this complex. As a result, our further actions with regard to this community should, then, take this fact into serious consideration.

The Research Instrument
(See Appendix K)

Diagram V


AREAS WITHIN
Individual closed
to influence
SECTORS
Individual is
open to influence
SECONDARY
Mediating
elements (Church)
PRIMARY
Mediating
influence (Education)
CENTERPOINT
Or focal point
of the Individual

William Vanderbok 10

INFLUENCE IN THREE RURAL COMMUNITIES: AN EXPOSITION OF A NEW APPROACH

In the summer of 1965 some research was conducted in three rural communities in an attempt to determine a patter of influence among the decision making elites.[1] The Communities utilized for the project--Bowling Green, Centerpoint, and Cory--are all of approximately the same population, about three hundred, and are located from sixteen to twenty-two miles east of Terre Haute, Indiana.

The initial step in the research was the compilation of an elite list. It has been frequently suggested, particularly in the elitist-pluralist dialogue that has been raging for the last several years, that one's method of identifying the leadership structure largely determines the type of power structure that will be "found." To meet objections of this type the standard reputational technique for elite identification was expanded into a four stage process. Initially, a panel of informants in each community was asked who in their opinion were particularly influential in local affairs. No restrictions were placed on the number of nominations to be made. This was feasible both because the communities themselves are quite small and because everyone is known to virtually everyone else. In principle, however, there is no reason why such an unrestricted procedure could not be executed in a larger urban place.

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[1] The Collection of data was done by a separate group of individuals--George Balch, John Fishel, and Samuel Long. The computer programs for preliminary data analysis were conceived and written by Richard Morelli. The analysis and interpretation of this data, while under the general supervision of Professor William J. Gore, who oversaw the entire project from its inception, has been carried out independently of the earlier steps.

In the second phase of the identification of the leadership the individuals thus named were approached and asked two questions. First, what did they consider to be the major issues currently facing the community. Second, what individuals were actively participating in the resolution of these questions. This new list of names is superior to the first for a variety of reasons. It is no longer totally dependent upon the judgment of the initial informants since the men that they named were also quizzed concerning local influentials. Such a two step process in identifying the elite is useful in view of the gradually growing body of research which suggests that people do indeed accurately perceive power relationships. This being the case, we have all the more reason to go to the initial elite sample and ask them who they consider the elite to be.[2]

Finally, an element of issue oriented reality is introduced into the compilation of the elite list by tying nominations at this point to perceived major questions of local concern. In this way the pluralist argument that reputational studies, having no relationship to "real issues," do not reflect actual situations is met in a rather direct fashion. The information thus procured made it possible to select two major problems of common concern to the communities and also to compile an influentials list for each of the towns.

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[2] On the perception of interpersonal power, see, for example, Levinger, G., "The Development of Perceptions and Behavior in Newly Formed Social Power Relationships," in Studies in Social Power, edited by D. Cartwright (Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 1959), and Lippett, R.; N. Polansky; F. Redl; and S. Rosen, "The Dynamics of Power," Human Relations, 1952, pp. 37-64.

Various types of demographic data were collected on these men during an exhaustive census in the communities. This material is set forth in table 1.

Table 1. Demographic Data Concerning those Named in Phase Two of the Identification of Community Influentials*

Variable	Influentials, by Town				General Adult Population of the Area
	Bowling Green	Centerpoint	Cory	All Three Towns	
Sex:					
Male	11	12	13	36	291
Female	4	1	2	7	290
Age:					
66 and over	1	1	3	5	151
56 to 65	2	1	2	6	110
46 to 55	3	4	2	8	93
36 to 45	5	6	7	13	119
26 to 35	4	1		5	78
21 to 25			1	1	35
Education:					
None					9
4th grade					25
8th grade	2	1	1	4	144
2 1/RS high school		1		1	60
4 1/RS high school	9	6	3	18	259
2 1/RS college	3		3	6	39
4 1/RS college		1	5	6	18
Over 4 1/RS college	1	4	3	8	32
Religion:					
None	1			1	32
United Ch. of Christ		1	2	3	49
Roman Catholic					8
Baptist	2	1	5	8	24
Evangelical United Brethren	1	2		3	84
Evangelical Christian					9
Lutheran					15
Methodist	11	7	8	26	308

Religion (cont.)					
Nazarene					23
Presbyterian			2	2	10
Other					24
Occupation:					
None	1			1	107
Agriculture	3	1	5	9	83
Manufacturing	1	1		2	57
Construction	2			2	20
Mining			1	1	24
Wholesale/retail		3		3	42
Teaching	2	1	1	4	38
Minister		1	1	2	5
Clerk/Secretary	1		2	3	49
Other	5	6	2	13	161
Socio-Economic Status:					
Lower-lower					14
Upper-lower					99
Lower-middle	6	1	4	11	226
Upper-middle	6	7	2	15	171
Lower-upper	1	3	4	8	43
Upper-upper	1	1	1	3	5
Income:					
None	3			3	218
$1 to $499					35
$500 to $1999		1	1	2	55
$2000 to $4999		1	2	3	93
$5000 to $9999	5	6	5	16	92
$10,000 to $15,000	1	2	1	4	19
Over $15,000	4		1	5	9
Urbanization Class:					
Semi-urban	1		2	3	74
Urban	12	10	6	28	458
Very urban		2		2	6
Social Participation Class:					
Unskilled	3	3	3	10	314
Semi-skilled	1	2	2	4	93
Skilled	4	5	5	10	64
Clerical	5			3	37
Professional/managerial	2	3	3	9	78

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*The n varies within towns because of the hesitancey of some of the respondents to provide all of the information requested.

As can readily be seen from the table, the leadership in all of the communities is dominated by middle aged men. Only Cory shows a wide variation in the educational background of its leaders, having a relatively large number of men who have gone beyond high school. In terms of socio-economic status the leadership in all communities is somewhat higher than that of the general adult population, though not strikingly so.[3]

The urbanization scale has been derived from a variety of items involving such things as organizational membership, life style and utilization of urban services. The Chapin Scale of Social Participation was used to derive the social participation ratings of respondents.

In the third phase of the identification of the leadership structure those men on the refined situational-reputational list generated in the previous step were interviewed at length. The instrument utilized for this purpose was a self-coding questionnaire designed around the sociometric technique of relational analysis, in a modified form. Two hypothetical situations, tied to reality by basing them on the community problems predominantly mentioned in the second phase, were put forward for the respondent's consideration. The first situation read:

> The children of a community require adequate schooling, which the State says cannot be furnished in existing facilities. The State Education Bureau requests the citizens of the community, as well as other county citizens in the area, to choose between a consolidated county school system or paying more through bond issues for the existing schools. A committee of citizens is chosen to investigate the matter. After discussing the choices, most of the citizens on this committee recommend that the community approve school consolidation. If this were your community . . .

---

[3] The socio-economic status classification scheme is based on the Chapin Scale of Socio-Economic Status.

The second situation suggested that:

> The State Highway Department announces plans for the construction of an interstate highway which is to pass near a community. Plans for the new highway do not provide access to and from the community. An appeal is made to the Highway Department but the Department says that the State cannot afford the needed access roads. Somebody recommends a committee be formed to appeal the Department's decision. If your community needed access roads . . .

For each of these situations every respondent was asked such things as:

1. How he would most probably learn of the existence of this hypothetical situation;
2. What his personal reaction to it would be;
3. Who would he make a special effort to contact about it, if anyone, and in what way;
4. Which other individuals on the elite list would he expect to react, and in what way; and
5. Who on the list would make a special effort to contact him, if anyone?

For each situation a two by three matrix can be constructed for each of the men on the influentials list to reflect the way in which his name had been mentioned in various contexts. His peers may categorize him as most probably responding positively, neutrally or negatively towards the hypothetical situation. He may also be classified as most probably responding in either an active or passive mode. Finally, it is important to know the maximum number of times that he might have been mentioned. As such, we have constructed for each member of the elite a matrix of the form:

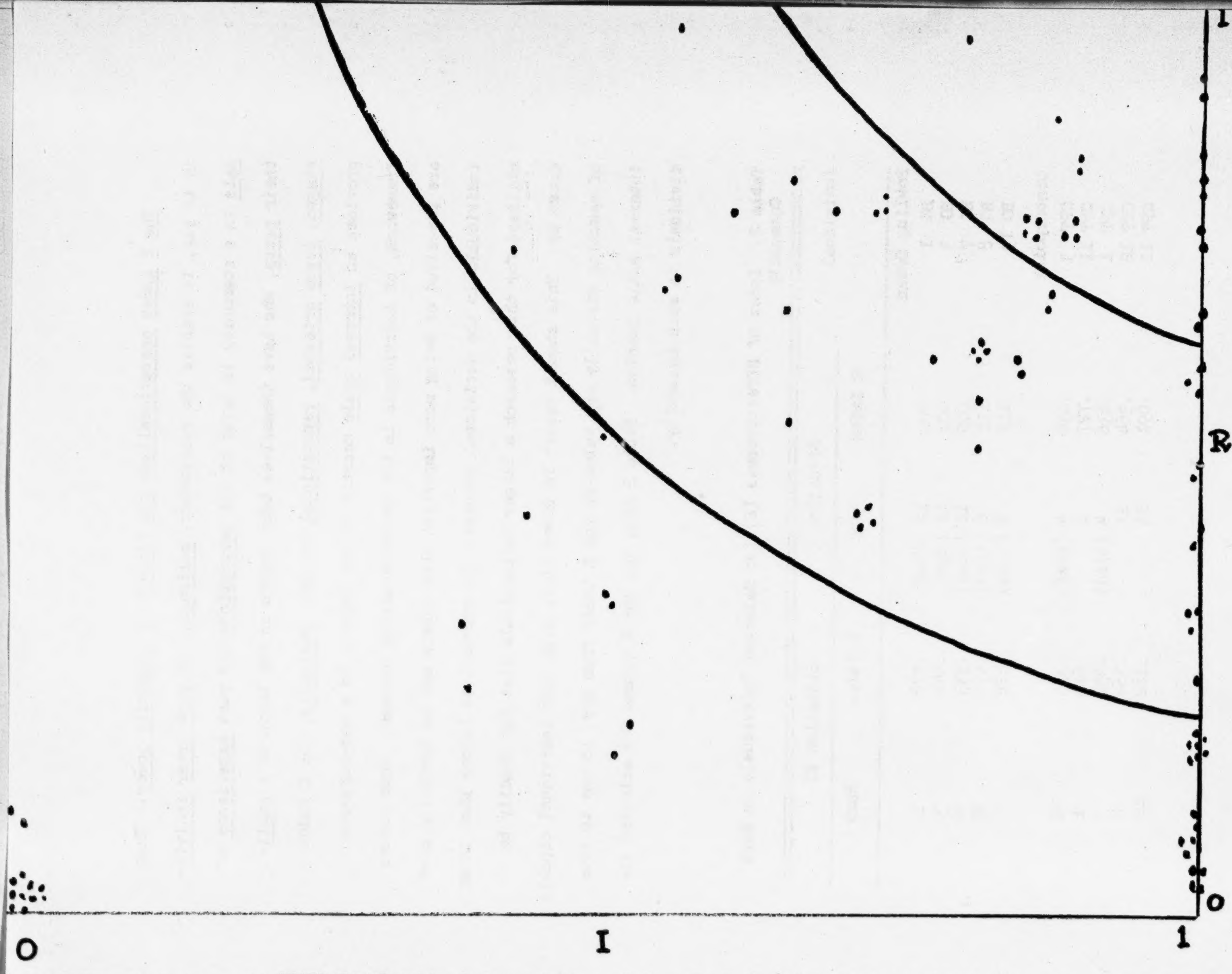
	+	0	-
A			
B			

Possible N =

Utilizing the data from such matrices, two major indices can be constructed, one situation at a time, to reflect the degree of community power and the relative position of each member of the elite within the structure. The first of these, the index of effectiveness (R) and the index of intensity (I). The R index is constructed by merely dividing the number of times a person is mentioned as being likely to respond in one way or another to the hypothetical situation by the maximum number of times he might possibly have been mentioned; N/Possible N. As such, each member of the elite can have an R of from 0.000 to 1.000. The resulting number represents a measure of the individual's potential ability to influence the decisional outcome in terms of the number of other decision-makers who agree that on the basis of their past experience he will probably take a role in the resolution of the issue. However, it is readily conceivable that one or another hypothetical situation may be considered as more important to the respondents as a group than another. In point of fact, this is the case and was reflected in all three towns by the generally greater magnitude of the R scores for situation I. Therefore, for simple comparative purposes an individual's rank order within his town's elite group based upon R values is more immediately useful than the R index itself.

The second element used in deriving the index of effectiveness, the index of intensity (I), is computed by dividing the number of active nominations an individual receives by the total number of his mentions; A/A+P. Like the R index, this too can vary from 0.000 to 1.000. The numbers thus generated provide a rough index of how likely it is that any given man would be actively concerned with the hypothetical issue under discussion based on the perceptions and past experience of all of the men being interviewed.

Both the R and I indices have defects in them which impair their usefulness. The index of response simply reflects the number of nominations, without accounting for the intensity of the response. The index of intensity merely reflects the ratio of active to passive nominations without accounting for the number of nominations made. Plotting the R index against the I index, as in graph I, has the effect of eliminating these objections to I and R by, in effect, weighting the index of intensity by the index of response (put in graph 1 at approximately this point.) Graph 1 is equivalent to multiplying R times I, yielding the index of effectiveness.(E).



GRAPH I Graphic Representation of the E Index (R against I)

The E index operationalizes the concept of community power. That is to say, it enables the researcher, *minimally*, to *rank order individuals* in a community in terms of the *perceptions* and past *experience* of their *peers*, who have themselves been chosen on the basis of a *multi-staged*, *issue oriented*, *reputational* design. *Maximally*, the E index provides an *interval scale* measure of the impact, in a non-zero-sum framework, of individuals in the decision-making process. Some issues are perceived as being more important than others and as involving more individuals in the decisional process. In communities larger than those utilized for this research a larger influentials list can readily be drawn up. This should result in fewer ties, with each individual capable of assuming virtually any value on the E index from zero to one in true interval scale fashion. Table 2 sets out the E values for selected individuals in each community.

Table 2. Index of Effectiveness (E) for Selected Individuals in Each Community

Individual	Situation I		Situation II	
	E Index	Rank	E Index	Rank
Bowling Green				
BG 1	.000	12 (tied)	.778	1
BG 3	.000	12 (tied)	.444	3
BG 7	.000	12 (tied)	.333	4
BG 8	.111	8 (tied)	.556	2
BG 13	.111	8 (tied)	.222	6
Centerpoint				
CPT 3	.636	4 (tied)	.455	6
CPT 11	.727	1	.818	1
CPT 1	.636	4 (tied)	.636	3
CPT 12	.364	11	.364	8
CPT 10	.091	14	.182	12

Cory				
CRY 10	.786	2	.786	1
CRY 11	.536	3	.643	3
CRY 3	.510	6	.714	2
CRY 1	.357	13	.500	13
CRY 8	.286	14	.571	10

We conceive of an E value of .200, as set out in matrix 1 below, as representing exactly twice as much influence in the "imaginary" community issue under study as an individual with an E value of .100, as set out in matrix 2, below.

Matrix 1

	+	0	-
A	10	0	0
P	10	0	0

Possible N = 50

R = 20/50 = .400
I = 10/20 = .500
E = .400 x .500 = .200

Matrix 2

	+	0	-
A	5	0	0
P	5	0	0

Possible N = 50

R = 10/50 = .200
I = 55/10 = .500
E = .200 x .500 = .100

Dummy matrices such as these shed light on one complication. In the extreme case where an individual receives no mentions at all, as in matrix 3, his E index is .000. Similarly, if an individual receives the maximum number of nominations possible, but if they are all in the passive mode, as in matrix 4, he will receive an E value of .000. On intuitive grounds this may seem to be an error. It can be argued that by being nominated an individual's wishes are going to be taken into account, however unconsciously, by those who will be active. Our argument in response is essentially that if a person is not seen as likely to actively participate in an issue by at least some of his peers, his likelihood of actually doing so is quite low and his assumed desires will be set aside in favor of those which are expressed by more active men. Therefore, there is no difference between an individual who is mentioned by everyone -- essentially, this is saying that he has a position attributed to him by virtually everyone, but that no one believes that he considers it worth the effort to become involved -- and the individual who is mentioned by no one -- essentially, that everyone believes that he considers the issue to be of such low interest that he will not bother to formulate his own position, much less put forth the effort necessary to become involved.

Matrix 3

	+	0	-
A	0	0	0
P	0	0	0

Possible N = 50

Matrix 4

	+	0	-
A	0	0	0
P	50	0	0

Possible N = 50

Returning again to graph 1, which is a plotting of the components of the E Index for both situations in all three towns, cursory inspection reveals that there are two major response patterns. First, there is a rough linear slope running along the minor diagonal. Second, there is a vertical column on which the I values are all 1.000. Most of these cases are due to the fact that the individual received a very small number of nominations of the active type and no passive nominations. However, because E is essentially I weighted by R, this skew is adjusted for.

Tentatively, we have divided the graph into three areas. Area I includes all those individuals who have an E index of .250 or less, area III consists of those with an E of .6000 or more and area II is made up of those falling between .250 and .600. Al though the edges around these cutting points are blurred and although further investigation may suggest either other values or additional cutting points, these do seem to form meaningful sectors. Area III consists of those individuals who are "self-activating." These are men who would, if faced with the reality of our hypothetical situation, spontaneously respond to and work for the resolution of the issue. Area II is populated by those who, while they would not respond on their own, would take an active part in the decision-making process if approached. This second level of leadership is make up of the "activateables." Finally, area I is made up of those who are "beyond hope" for our purposes. They are "unactivateable" in the issue area under consideration.

In addition to classifying individuals into either the active or passive modes the matrix that we have been using also distributes nominations according to direction of participation. Using this information we can construct a valence index (V) according to the formula $\frac{(a - c) + (d - f)}{(TA) + (TP)}$, where these symbols represent the values in the cells as set out in matrix 5.

Matrix 5

	+	0	-	
A	a	b	c	TA
P	c	e	f	TP

The computational formula is so constructed that the V index can vary from +1.000 to -1.000. V is an unrefined measure of the probability that an individual will take a generalized policy stance in a particular direction on the hypothetical issue under consideration. It is unrefined in the sense that a man may be nominated by one or more individuals and yet receive the same value on the index. Matrices 6 and 7 demonstrate this.

Matrix 6

$$\begin{array}{c|c|c|c|}
 & + & 0 & - \\ \hline
A & 0 & 0 & 1 \\ \hline
P & 0 & 0 & 0 \\ \hline
\end{array}$$

Possible N = 50

$$V = \frac{(0 - 1) + (0 - 0)}{1 + 0} = \frac{-1}{1} = -1.000$$

Matrix 7

$$\begin{array}{c|c|c|c|}
 & + & 0 & - \\ \hline
A & 0 & 0 & 50 \\ \hline
P & 0 & 0 & 0 \\ \hline
\end{array}$$

Possible N = 50

$$V = \frac{(0 - 50) + (0 - 0)}{50 - 0} = \frac{-50}{50} = -1.000$$

This difficulty can be corrected by weighting the V index in terms of the ratio on nominations made to the maximum number possible, and in terms of the ratio of active to passive mentions. These two modifications are the R and I indices, respectively. The second major operational measure to emerge from this research, therefore, is the index of impact (Im), which is computed by multiplying the E (or, R x I) and V indices together:

$$Im = \frac{N}{\text{Possible } N} \times \frac{A}{A + P} \times \frac{(a - c) + (d - f)}{(TA) + (TP)}$$

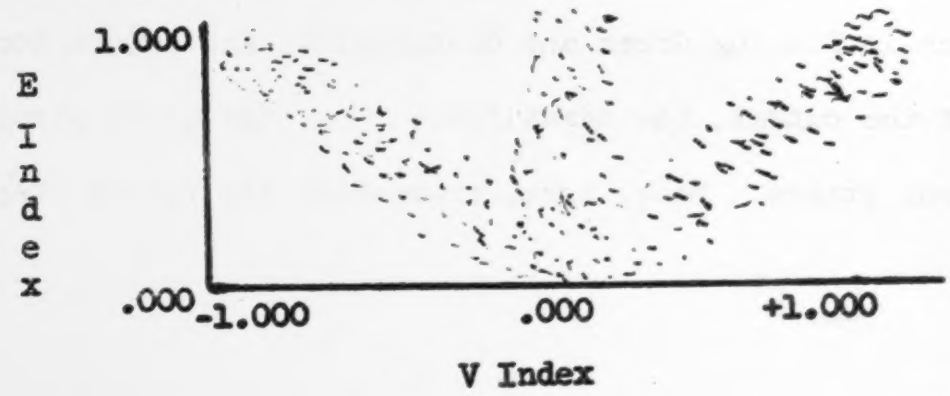
The Im index has all of the attributes of the E index, plus the added characteristic of reflecting the probability that a given individual would respond to a hypothetical situation with a specified level of intensity (which is itself an interval scale) and in a particular direction. To once again utilize our selected individuals in each of the towns, they distribute themselves on the Im index as set out in table 3.

Table 3. Index of Impact (Im) for Selected Individuals in Each Community.

Individual	Situation I		Situation II	
	Im Index	Rank	Im Index	Rank
Bowling Green				
BG 1	.000	5 (tied)	.778	1
BG 3	.000	5 (tied)	.444	3
BG 7	.000	5 (tied)	.333	4
BG 8	.000	5 (tied)	.556	2
BG 13	-.111	11	.222	6
Centerpoint				
CPT 3	.225	10	.398	5
CPT 11	.582	6	.818	1
CPT 1	.636	4	.477	3
CPT 12	.051	13	.208	11
CPT 10	.046	14	.565	2
Cory				
CRY 10	.786	2	.786	1
CRY 11	.402	7	.643	6
CRY 3	-.219	16	.583	9
CRY 1	.357	8	.500	14
CRY 8	.286	12	.571	11

Although it is not the case with the data from our three towns, it is readily conceivable that, when plotted, the Im index will take on the general shape of graph 2.

Graph 2. Graphic Representation of the Im Index (E against V)



In this situation what we are anticipating is an approximate linear slope between R and V in both the positive and negative directions of V. In addition, a center column is projected comprising individuals with low V values but high E values. These people can be characterized as "active neutralists," arbitrators, mediators, or some other such appropriate term. They can be expected to play an active part in the resolution of the issue, as reflected by their E index values, but not strenuously advocate any particular solution in those instances where there are competing factions.

Having computed the E and Im indices for each member of the elite in each situation, we are in a position to further modify the community influentials list. Looking across situations on the E index, if a name consistently appears with a .000 value, or some other unusually small number, we are faced with two alternatives. Either (1) the man is not active in the community but is respected, or holds a position of formal influence, and is therefore always merely nominated as a power holder during the conventional phases of drawing the elite sample, or (2) we have not identified the key hypothetical situations. However, since a combination of the reputational and situational techniques was used to identify both issues and leadership, the latter alternative is quite unlikely. In addition, the results lead us to accept the first alternative. A case can be made for dropping only four of the fifty-one men on the influentials list as it has been developed up to this point in the research--one each in Bowling Green and Centerpoint, and two in Cory. As mentioned at the outset, the identification of the elite structure proceeded in four stages. This, then, represents the fourth stage.

Utilizing the fully refined elite list and the two major indices, E and Im, further manipulation of the data can be carried out. Although we have contended that both E and Im are interval scales, the more conservative course of rank ordering individuals and applying non-parametric statistics has been pursued. Our rationale is that in this particular case the vagaries of data collection recommend themselves to statistics of lower power but less regorous assumptions. Having ranked individuals on both situations, if a high positive rank order correlation results we have evidence that the same individuals consistently appear as self-activators, as activateables or as non-activateables. In other words, a hierarchical community power structure would exist, as the elitist oriented researchers maintain. A high negative correlation would mean that situational leadership prevails, lending credence to pluralist or polyarchial assumptions. By carrying out this same procedure in a number of communities or within the same community over time comparisons can be made concerning empirically verified patterns of community power and the relationships between it and other variables, such as the structural arrangements within society, the ideological orientations of the citizenry, and so forth. Table 4 sets out the Spearman rank order correlations (rho) for both the E and Im indices for each of the three communities.

Table 4. Rank Order Correlations for all Three Communities, E and Im Indices

Community	E Index	Im Index
Bowling Green	-.149	.180
Centerpoint	.278	.225
Cory	.385	.300

In no case are these statistics significantly different from zero even though they accurately reflect an intuitive ranking of the communities in terms of centralization of power. Looking at the E index rhos, what emerges is that Cory has a relatively unified power elite while Bowling Green is marked by a form of situational leadership. Reclassifying individuals by policy stance, the Im index rhos are lower for Cory and Centerpoint, as might be expected, since removing a few relatively active individuals and relocating them at the opposite end of the ordered list has the effect of scrambling somewhat the hierarchial arrangement. Interestingly enough, however, in Bowling Green the Im index rho is larger than the E index rho. In this case what has happened is that two generalized factions apparently have situational leadership, as reflected in the E index rho. However, when segregated by valence these issue oriented leaders cluster together, thereby reversing the direction of the relationship and producing a positive correlation.

Using this methodology we can summarize the findings concerning Bowling Green, Centerpoint and Cory by pointing out that in each case the leadership is, as a group, younger, better educated and financially better off than their neighbors. The power structure in each of the communities does not demonstrate either a marked elitist or situational organization, although there is reason to suspect that Cory's leadership is slightly more centralized than that of Centerpoint, and considerably more centralized than Bowling Green's, which seems to be marked by situationally oriented factions.

CORY AND CENTERPOINT REVISITED

INTRODUCTION

David J. Hadley **11**

Chapter X, William Vanderbok's paper, written in the early fall of 1965 and entitled "Influence in Three Rural Communities: An Exposition of a New Approach," served as the inspiration and outline for the following consideration of research data collected during the summer of 1966. Mr. Vanderbok's paper puts forward a new approach to the study of influence. In his study Mr. Vanderbok addressed himself to the methodological problems which have fed the fires of the enlitist-pluralist dialogue in the area of influence structure study. He sought a way to escape the charge that has been used by both sides in the controversy to attack one another. That charge is that the method of identifying the leadership structure largely determines the type of power structure that one will "find." Vanderbok sought to avoid this possibility by expanding the standard reputational technique for elite-member identification into a four-stage process. These four steps can be found in Chapter X.

The purpose of this paper is to use data roughly comparable to Mr. Vanderbok's and compare influence structures over time for two of the four rural Indiana communities he studied. We also proposed to obtain more extensive data for these two towns, Cory and Centerpoint, than had been obtained during the summer of 1965. The nature of this data expansion will be explained later.

This research project was under the general supervision of Dr. William J. Gore. It was planned and directed by Douglas Van Houweling, a graduate student in government at Indiana University. The data for this one paper was but a very small part of the data collected by the entire research undertaking.

DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURE

Roughly, the research design for 1966 centered on administering to community influentials in Cory and Centerpoint, a questionnaire which combined Jackson return potential model type questions and socio-metric analysis questions. Each question or series of questions was asked in such a way as to relate it to a specific hypothetically-phrased, but essentially real, situation.

The procedure leading up to the questionnaire administration was one aimed at bringing the influentials list up to date and at identifying situations to be included in the questionnaire. In bringing the influentials list up to date we began with the list obtained the previous year by Mr. Vanderbok using his four step identification process--the process aimed at generating a list which by the nature of compilation would not influence the type of power structure it would be judged to represent. Using this list as a start we approached persons named on it and instructed them to cite from three to five persons now on the list whom they felt should no longer be included on a list of persons influential in their community and to give the reasons behind removing each name. They were then asked to list from three to five persons whom they would add to the list. By this process, upon comparing the deletions and additions of a number of persons on the Vanderbok influential list, three were removed from the Centerpoint list and five were added. The final revised list for that town contained 19 names. Most of the deletions were because the person no longer lived in the community or he no longer participated in community affairs. Three were also removed from the Cory list and five were added, again giving a total of 19 persons. The lists thus obtained, it was hoped, would not vary too substantially from those of Mr. Vanderbok.

After these persons were asked to remove from and add names to the influentials list they were also asked to name and describe situations of community-wide interest which had existed in the last several years, and others expected to be coming up in the relatively near future--the next one or two years. They were also asked to indicate whether these situations had caused or would cause a significant amount of controversy in the community or whether they had been or would be dealt with fairly easily by the community. On this basis the situations were classified as threatening or non-threatening situations. From the situations obtained in this way the situations to which the Jackson return potential model questions and the sociometric relational analysis questions would refer were to be selected.

The questionnaire was constructed in the following way. (It should be remembered that the entire questionnaire is not relevant to the purposes of this paper. Those parts which are relevant will be indicated, but it seems that the best way to gain a feeling for the relevant parts is to look at the whole.) The first portion of the very lengthy questionnaire was that portion designed to yield a Jackson Return Potential curve. This included the statement of a situation which was followed by a question concerning 11 possible actions--actions which could be taken by a person on the influentials list of the community. For example, a Jackson return potential question for Centerpoint was constructed as follows:

> The town board has before it a plan which would bring a natural gas line into Centerpoint. A vote will be taken on the plan at the board's next meeting.
>
> How would you feel toward (name of influential) if he did each of the following in response to this situation? (Indicate how you would feel toward him by placing a mark through the line below each action. The distance from either end of the line indicates how strongly you approve or disapprove of him for taking that action.) Please keep in mind at all times the name of the person whom you are considering.

The actions, each followed by an unlabeled six-centimeter scale, were as follows:

1. If he refused to talk to or associate with anyone who opposed the plan for the natural gas line.
2. If he formed a committee to support the plan.
3. If he publicly stated, as in a speech to a local organization, that he supported the plan.
4. If he told his friends and those who asked him that he supported the plan but made no public statement.
5. If he privately supported the plan for the natural gas line but spoke of his support only in private and confidential conversation with his closest friends.
6. If he remained neutral.
7. If he privately opposed the plan but spoke of his opposition only in private and confidential conversation with his closest friends.
8. If he told his friends and those who asked him that he opposed the plan for the natural gas line but made no public statement.
9. If he publicly stated that he opposed the plan for the natural gas line.
10. If he formed a committee to oppose the plan.
11. If he refused to talk to or associate with anyone who was in favor of the natural gas line plan.

Each respondent was to tell how he would feel toward the person named in the question just below the situation if that person took each one of the suggested actions. The respondent was to answer these questions about each person on the influentials list for each situation. In the one and only questionnaire administration in Cory there were two situations. Two situations were included in the first administration in Centerpoint. In the second questionnaire administration in

Centerpoint there were four situations. For this second administration the influentials list was trimmed, on the basis of the first administration, to 10 names. Thus on the first questionnaires given in both Centerpoint and Cory each respondent was asked to tell how he would feel (Approve to disapprove as indicated by making a mark somewhere along a six-centimeter scale. No numbers, only the words "approve" and "disapprove," were associated with the line.) toward each of 19 persons--all on the influential list--in each of two situations. This made a total of 38 Jackson return potential series questions. In Centerpoint on the second administration the respondents were asked to tell how they would feel toward each of 10 influentials on each of four situations.

Following the Jackson return potential question was a question we called the "action dimension" question. It referred the respondent to the situation that had been cited at the beginning of the page on which he was then working. It concerned the same subject about whom he had just finished answering the return potential question.

The question asked:

> Which of the above actions do you think John Doe would be most likely to take in this situation? You may choose any of the 11 actions listed above or an action which you feel is somewhere between two of them by making a mark on the line below. The numbers on the line are the same as those of the actions above.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

It is with the answers to this question that this paper is primarily concerned in making the comparison of influence structure over the one year's time. This question is, it seems, directly comparable to that asked in the 1965 study, when a situation was also presented to the respondent. In addition to being asked how he himself would personally react to each of two situations, the respondent was asked to indicate how he thought each of the persons named on the influentials list would react to the situation. Seven possible reactions were suggested to the respondent as being actions the subject could take.

The actions were:

1. Publicly support the recommendation.
2. When talking to friends and associates would support the recommendation.
3. Publicly oppose the recommendation.
4. When speaking with friends and associates would oppose the recommendation.
5. Take a stand one way or the other depending upon the position taken by those whose opinion is respected in such matters.
6. Would have no reaction, and take no stand.
7. Other.

These are relatively comparable to the possible actions suggested to persons answering the 1966 questionnaire. The 1966 suggested actions, however, offered somewhat narrower classes of actions. The 11-centimeter scale below each action dimension question also allowed for actions somewhere between two of the stated actions if those two were thought not to exactly typify the action that a particular subject might take. This then allowed greater differentiation of actions.

The remainder of the questionnaire was devoted to sociometric questions in which the situations were repeated and the respondent was asked to list from three to six persons of the 19 subjects who would be the most logical to talk to regarding that particular situation.

As in Mr. Vanderbok's study, from the action dimension question of 1966 we are able to construct a two by three matrix for each of the persons on the influentials list. This matrix reflects the way in which each person's name was mentioned by all the other members of the influentials list concerning each situation. As Mr. Vanderbok stated in his paper, "His peers may categorize him as most probably responding positively, neutrally or negatively toward a hypothetical situation. He may also be classified as most probably responding in either an active or passive mode."

For the data collected in 1966 this judgment as to positive, negative or neutral was easily made. Actions marked between 1.0 and 5.9 cm. could be regarded as positive, those from 6.1 to 11.0 cm. were negative, and those persons whose projected action was marked at 6.0 were of neutral or essentially no reaction.

Similarly, for classifying the actions as active and passive the 11-centimeter scale was broken down into zones. (The actions in which the subject would refuse to talk to or associate with anyone of a different opinion from his own were not included in the active and passive classifications since they could not be easily classified as either.) The active-passive scale began at 1.6 cm. and ended at 10.5. Active responses to each situation were classified as those action dimension lines marked between 1.6 and 3.5 (active positive) and between 8.6 and 10.5 (active negative). Passive responses were those between 3.6 and 5.9 (passive positive) and between 6.1 and 8.5 (passive negative). These classifications served the same purpose that Mr. Vanderbok intended when he divided his seven possible actions in the following way: Action 1 was active positive, #3 was active negative, #2 was passive positive, and #4 was passive negative. Action 6 was neutral or no reaction. Action #5 was unclassified as was #7. Ideally the 11.0 cm. line would provide interval data with which to do our calculations. Here we have chosen instead not to assign numerical values to each response. Any mark on the line will represent one active, passive, or neutral response. This allows the data to be compared to that collected by the 1965 research project. But the potential for assigning a magnitude to active and passive responses exists in the data collected in 1966.

MATRIX OF ANALYSIS

The matrix that can be formed utilizing these classifications for each member of the influentials list in each situation in both studies is as follows and as illustrated in the Vanderbok paper: (on next page)

MATRIX 1

$$\begin{array}{ccccc} & + & 0 & - & \\ A & a & b & c & TA \\ P & d & e & f & TP \\ & & & & \text{Possible } N = \end{array}$$

The indices developed by Vanderbok that can be calculated from the values entered in these matrices are several. I will list and define these indices as they are given in Vanderbok's paper. But for a fuller discussion of the behavior of these indices when different values are plugged into the equations for them it is best to consult the Vanderbok paper, where the explanations of the indices are more than lucid. A brief review of his discussion of the indices, however might be useful to the reader as he considers the following expansion of the Vanderbok study and the comparison of influential structure found in 1965 with that found when Cory and Centerpoint were re-examined a year later.

The first major index developed by Mr. Vanderbok's paper is the *index of effectiveness* (E). This index is built from two "lower order scales." Those scales are the *index of response* (R) and the index of intensity (I). The R index is constructed by dividing the number of times a person is mentioned as being likely to respond in one way or another to a hypothetical situation by the maximum number of times he might possibly have been mentioned: N/Possible N.

The R index may range from 0.000 to 1.000. Vanderbok defines the meaning of the R index to be "a measure of the individual's potential ability to influence the decisional outcome in terms of the number of other decision-makers who agree that on the basis of their past experience he will probably take a role in the resolution of the issue." He goes on to say, however, that the rank order of a person in the town's elite group based on R values is more immediately useful than the numerical value of the R index itself. This paper will not attempt to deal with the rank orders of the two lower order R and I indices. (The manner in which the values of these indices may vary for each subject is treated by Mr. Vanderbok and illustrated graphically by the tables he includes in his paper.) The I index is computed by dividing the number of active nominations an individual receives by his total number of mentions: A/A+P. The I index also may vary from 0.000 to 1.000. This index, as Mr. Vanderbok states, provides a "rough index of how likely it is that any given man would be actively concerned with the hypothetical issue under discussion, once again based on the perceptions and past experience of all men being interviewed."

To escape the shortcomings of these two indices the E index is constructed. This index combines the strong points of the R and I scores. The E index allows one "to rank order individuals in a community in terms of the perceptions and past experience of their peers." It is calculated by the formula: $E = (N / \text{Possible } N) X (A / A + P)$. Table 1 below will illustrate the index of effectiveness for selected individuals for both situations in 1965 and for all situations in 1966. The subjects included in the table are essentially the ones used by Mr. Vanderbok. Some new ones were added because of the deletions from the original list. (Some differences may be noted in comparing the ranks and index values obtained by Mr. Vanderbok and those contained in this paper. The error results from the author's inability to exactly reconstruct the calculations done by the 1965 study computer program. The differences, however, are relatively standard and all subjects will be similarly affected. There, fore, the overall results in rank orders should not vary too strikingly from those stated by Mr. Vanderbok.)

TABLE 1

E INDICES AND RANK ORDERS FOR SELECTED INDIVIDUALS ON ALL SITUATIONS ADMINISTERED IN CORY AND CENTERPOINT (1965 and 1966)

CORY

	******* 1965 *******		******* 1966 ********	
Subject	*Sit. 1	Sit. 2*	*Sit. 1	Sit. 2*
Cry. 13	.786 (1)	.571 (3)tie	.600 (3)tie	.700 (2)
Cry. 11	.459 (3)tie	.571 (3) "	.350 (8) "	.300 (11)tie
Cry. 3	.459 (3) "	.714 (1) "	0.000 (11)"	.600 (5) "
Cry. 17	.143 (12)"	.071 (8) "	.450 (6) "	.533 (6)
Cry. 16	.143 (12)"	.429 (6) "	.250 (9) "	.800 (1)

CENTERPOINT

	******* 1965	********	******* 1966	*******
Subject	*Sit. 1	Sit. 2*	*Sit. 1	Sit. 2*
Cpt. 13	.455 (5)	.091 (7)tie	.312 (16)tie	.750 (3)tie
Cpt. 11	.727 (1)	.818 (1)	1.000 (1)	.390 (13)
Cpt. 1	.545 (4)tie	.545 (3)	.667 (4)	.314 (14)
Cpt. 12	.364 (6)	.273 (6)tie	.516 (8)	.667 (6)
Cpt. 10	.182 (8)	.727 (2)	.393 (12)	.086 (18)

	*********************	1966	*********************	
Subject	*Sit. 3	Sit. 4	Sit. 5	Sit. 6*
Cpt. 13	.667 (3)tie	.167 (5)tie	.500 (2)tie	.667 (3)
Cpt. 11	1.000 (1)	1.000 (1) "	.333 (3) "	1.000 (1)tie
Cpt. 1	not included	not included	not included	not included
Cpt. 12	0.000 (6)	.500 (4)tie	.833 (1)tie	.833 (2)tie
Cpt. 10	.833 (2)tie	.667 (3) "	.167 (4) "	.500 (4) "

The E index is an instrument which may allow the researcher to make statements about the importance attributed to specific issues by certain persons and the extent to which these persons may become actively involved in a specific issue. This judgment is made on the basis of the perceptions of persons in the community about their peers.

The index of impact (Im) makes use of the E index as well as one further index. This is the valence (V) index, which is calculated by the formula: $\frac{(a - c) + (d - f)}{(TA) + (TP)}$, where these symbols represent the values set forth in Matrix 1 above. The values of V can vary from +1.000 to -1.000. Vanderbok defined the V index as "*an unrefined measure of the probability that an individual will take a generalized policy stance in a particular direction* on the hypothetical issue under consideration."

As his final index Vanderbok puts forward the index of impact. This index combines the index of response, the index of intensity (together forming the effectiveness index), and the valence index. In doing this the shortcomings of the valence index are overcome. The number and activeness or passiveness of the nominations made for a person are combined with their direction. The Im index is computed by the formula:

$$\text{Im} = \frac{\text{N}}{\text{Possible N}} \times \frac{\text{A}}{\text{A + P}} \times \frac{(\text{a} - \text{c}) + (\text{d} - \text{f})}{(\text{TA}) + (\text{TP})}$$

The Im index reflects "*the probability that a given individual would respond* to a hypothetical situation with a *specified level of intensity* (which is itself an interval scale) *and in a particular direction*," states Vanderbok.

THE INDICES

Below is the table of Im values computed for the same selected subjects used before. Im values are shown for all situation administered in both 1965 and 1966.

TABLE 2

Im INDICES AND RANK ORDERS FOR SELECTED INDIVIDUALS ON ALL SITUATIONS ADMINISTERED IN CORY AND CENTERPOINT (1965 and 1966)

CORY

	********* 1965 *******		********** 1966 ********	
Subject	*Sit. 1	Sit. 2*	*Sit. 1	Sit. 2*
Cry. 13	.786 (1)	.571 (4)tie	.600 (1)	.700 (2)
Cry. 11	.328 (6)	.571 (4) "	.350 (3)	.150 (9)
Cry. 3	-.286 (17)	.584 (3)	0.000 (10)tie	-.120 (13)
Cry. 17	.143 (14)tie	.071 (9) "	0.000 (10) "	-.178 (14)
Cry. 16	.240 (11)	.367 (7)	.125 (9)	.800 (1)

CENTERPOINT

	1965		1966	
Subject	*Sit. 1	Sit. 2*	*Sit. 1	Sit. 2*
Cpt. 13	.455 (5)	.068 (11)	.312 (13)	.625 (1)
Cpt. 11	.595 (3)	.818 (1)	1.000 (1)	.177 (11)
Cpt. 1	.545 (4)	.390 (4)	.667 (3)	.126 (12)tie
Cpt. 12	.061 (12)	.136 (9)	.516 (6)	-.074 (17)
Cpt. 10	.121 (10)	.582 (2)	.393 (10)	.051 (15)

	1966			
Subject	*Sit. 3	Sit. 4	Sit. 5	Sit. 6*
Cpt. 13	.667 (3)tie	.167 (5)tie	.500 (2)tie	.667 (3)
Cpt. 11	1.000 (1)	1.000 (1) "	.333 (3)	1.000 (1)tie
Cpt. 1	not included	not included	not included	not included
Cpt. 12	0.000 (6)	.500 (4)	-.278 (7)	.833 (2)tie
Cpt. 10	.833 (2)tie	.667 (3)tie	.167 (4)tie	.500 (4) "

Thus far this paper has necessarily been very repetitive of the work done by Mr. Vanderbok. At this point, with the background laid for the consideration of the various indices, it is possible to go on to a comparison of the results of the two studies. There are several elements for possible comparison between the studies. Because of some similarity in several situations we are able to compare the ranks in order of the indices of persons in 1965 with those they received on a similar situation in 1966. In both towns in both years the questionnaires contained situations dealing with the possible closing of the community school. Unfortunately, however, there are some differences in the wording of these common situations from one year to the next and the 1966 wordings of the school situation are not held constant for both towns.

These differences in wording between towns resulted from an attempt to make the situations fit reality in the individual towns.

The school situations appearing on the questionnaires in Cory were more similar than those appearing on questionnaires in Centerpoint. In 1965 the situations were the same for both Cory and Centerpoint. The situation (Number 1) in 1965 read:

> The children of a community require adequate schooling, which the state says cannot be furnished in existing facilities. The State Education Bureau requests the citizens of the community, as well as other county citizens in the area, to choose between a consolidated county school system or paying more through bond issues for the existing school. A committee of citizens is chosen to investigate the matter. After discussing the choices, most of the citizens on this committee recommend that the community approve school consolidation. If this were your community.......

The situation (Number 2) on the 1966 Cory questionnaire stated:

> In the next election your county will vote on a proposal for a one-unit plan of school consolidation. Acceptance of this plan will mean that the school in your town will be closed.

In response to these situations, then, the respondent was asked to indicate how he felt other persons in his community would respond to this situation, or whether they would respond at all. There are several factors in these differently-worded situations which have remained the same.

They are:

1. Consolidation is the proposed alternative to the community school.
2. If consolidation is approved the community school will be closed.
3. The situation, in fact, is a reality in Cory at present. School consolidation is an issue in Clay County in the approaching election.

Essentially the only major differences between the 1965 and 1966 situations are the presence of the committee formed to investigate the consolidation and discuss the choices, and the presence in the 1965 situation of the distinct threat of paying more money than had been paid in the past if the community school remains open.

To compare and correlate the various indices among the situations, both within the same year and across the two separate administrations of the questionnaires in the towns, the Kendall Tau rank order correlation was used. This is an ordinal data statistical correlation.

RANK ORDER CORRELATIONS FOR CORY & CENTERPOINT
E AND Im INDICES FOR SITUATION 1 (1965)
COMPARED TO SITUATION 2 (1966)

Community	E index	Im index
Cory	.203	.480
Centerpoint	.526	.551

The correlation between the Im indices obtained during the two studies does vary significantly from zero. There is no significant correlation, however, between the sets of E index scores obtained during the two studies in Cory. Both indices, however, from the two Centerpoint studies show correlations significantly different from zero.

The relatively low correlation between the E indices of 1965 and 1966 in Cory seems to indicate, if the differences between the situations appearing in the two studies are accepted as not presenting insurmountable difficulties for comparison, that there have been changes in the perceptions of members of the community to the effectiveness of certain influentials in the community to influence the outcome of this particular situation. There have been changes in the potential ability of some influentials to actively influence the decisional outcome of this situation. For some reason some persons who last year were looked upon as most likely to work to influence the consolidation of the schools in one direction or another are not looked to to provide the same moving force one year later.

Turning, however, to the Im index in Cory we see a significant correlation between the indices obtained for the two years. This would seem to indicate that even though the E index, designating those who have the greatest potential ability to influence the situation by virtue of how many persons would expect them to become actively involved, has changed, the index reflecting the probability that a given individual would respond to a situation with a specified level of intensity and in a particular direction corresponds to a significant degree between the two studies. The .480

correlation of Im indices could indicate that although there have been changes in the list of influentials as to who would have the greatest potential ability to influence the outcome of the school question, there have been few significant changes in the direction of reactions that would be expected from the persons on the influentials list.

INTERPRETATIONS

It is relatively easy to make statements about the meanings of the varying degrees of correlation obtained between these indices but without a grasp of the events within these communities over the last 12 to 18 months it is very difficult to offer any explanation for the changes or agreements. In light of recent events one possible explanation of the changes in the E index and the significant correlation between the Im indices might well be that the school consolidation is a very real issue in Cory at this time. In the November 1966 election, less than three months after the questionnaire was administered in Cory, the voters of Clay County would decide the consolidation question. Thus the people of Cory have seen the reactions of these influentials in regard to this one situation. What they have seen could have changed their perceptions of the abilities of certain persons to influence this situation. On the other hand, they may merely have witnessed few changes of direction of response to the school situation. A variation from perceived intensity of response may thus be more likely than is a change of direction of response, especially in a small town where everyone knows the feelings of his fellow townsmen and has only to see how his voiced responses differ from his true reactions to the situation.

The comparison of the similar situations for the two studies in Centerpoint, however, presents an additional problem for analysis. The situations are not (on the surface) nearly so comparable as those of Cory. The 1965 situation in Centerpoint read exactly like the one printed above for Cory 1965. The 1966 Centerpoint school situation read as follows:

> The parents of several school age children in Centerpoint have proposed that the local grade school be closed and the children be sent to a larger school in another community.

The same questions were asked that were asked in Cory. But as is easily seen the 1966 Centerpoint situation has nothing to do with the consolidation of county schools as did the 1965 situation and as did both situations for Cory in 1965 and 1966. It does, however, involve the loss by the community of its own school--a significant consideration to many persons in both Cory and Centerpoint. Another significant difference between the two situations is that the situation as written in 1966 dealt with a real situation, essentially as it had already occurred in Centerpoint several years ago. Many persons remembered this particular situation vividly because it had caused great division within the community--

between those who wanted to keep the community school and those who felt it did not offer adequate educational opportunities. Eventually the school had been closed. The children of Centerpoint now attend school in a larger community several miles away. Since the school had been closed several years ago and the children were already being bused to school, the situation as written for 1965 may have offered little conflict for the people or little link with reality. The changes that would be brought about by the consolidation had already been faced by Centerpoint. Yet, because of the extent to which the people of Centerpoint could link their own real situation of several years ago with the hypothetical one, the situations might well refer to alternatives they were still considering; to similar possibilities. Similar possibilities include: Closing the local school, sending the children to a school several miles away, or spending more money to provide better educational opportunities with the community itself. If we can assume that these similarities in situations were realized by the persons answering the questionnaires we may accept the significant correlations between both the E and Im indices for the two studies in Centerpoint. These correlations (see Table 3) both are higher than the correlation obtained for the Im indices in Cory. The correlations between the indices for the two studies might be interpreted by saying that over the year perhaps as many as 25 per cent of the persons who were viewed in 1965 as having potential to influence the outcome of the school situation by becoming actively involved were among those viewed as having the same potential in 1966. A slightly higher percentage of persons were looked upon as having some probability of responding with a specified level of intensity and in a particular direction to the school situation for each of the two years. This higher level of correlation, though not great, may also reflect the fact that changes in direction of response are less likely than changes in intensity of response.

These are the only major comparisons that can be made between the studies of the two towns over the one year period. We did, however, set out to expand the Vanderbok study by administering several additional situations. In Cory, in addition to the one situation similar to the school situation included in 1965, an entirely new situation was included. In Centerpoint a total of six situations were included in two questionnaire administrations. One was similar and five were new. Two were included in the first administration in Centerpoint. These questionnaires were given to 14 members of the newly revised influentials list. Four more situations were on the second questionnaire distributed to six of ten persons on a further revised influentials list. This list was made up of the 10 persons who had been rated highest on the sociometric questions ("Who would Joe Doe be most likely to talk to about the above situation.") on the first questionnaire administration.

In addition to the school situation the respondents in Cory were asked to answer the questions (previously discussed) about a situation which read:

> Methodist churches in your town and two neighboring communities are considering consolidating into one large church in your town.

The other new situations used in Centerpoint were:

(first questionnaire administration)
"Natural gas line...." situation listed on Page 4.

(second questionnaire administration)

3. Centerpoint has scheduled its annual fish fry. It is now only two weeks away and the co-operation of everyone in the community has been asked for in the hope that it will be a bigger success than ever before.
4. The town board has before it a plan for constructing sidewalks in Centerpoint.
5. As a part of a nationwide movement to bring together the Methodist and EUB churches and because some people in the town think the town is too small to support two churches each with its own minister, it has been decided that the two churches in Centerpoint should be served for the time being by one minister and that the congregations eventually be united.
6. Some people in Centerpoint have felt for several years that the town should have its own water system. It has been proposed that Centerpoint obtain a federal loan to finance the water system.

Each of these situations then was followed by the 11 statements which gave possible actions a person could take in response to the situation. All the action statements were essentially the same as those stated on Page 4. The only change was in words needed to fit the action to the specific situation, e.g., "If he refused to talk to or associate with anyone who opposed the plan for the natural gas line," as opposed to, "If he refused to talk to or associate with anyone who opposed the closing of the school."

The Kendall Tau rank order correlation was first calculated for the various indices between the two situations contained on the Cory (1966) questionnaire and between the two situations on the first questionnaire in Centerpoint. The Tau rank order correlations for E and Im indices are contained in Table 4 below.

TABLE 4

TAU RANK ORDER CORRELATIONS FOR E AND Im INDICES BETWEEN SITUATIONS 1 and 2 IN CORY AND CENTERPOINT (1966)

Community	E index	Im index
Cory	.193	.396
Centerpoint	.070	-0.235

Neither correlation for the two indices on the two situations in Cory differs significantly from zero. The Im index correlation between the two Cory situations, however, approaches a significant level, but nothing can be said about this correlation with which any certainty can be attached.

The correlations between the two indices of the two situations in Centerpoint are even lower than those obtained for Cory. Yet, one should notice that the value of the correlation between the two Centerpoint Im indices is negative.

These correlations between situations indicate that there is little, if any, connection between, first, those who are viewed by their peers as having the potential to actively influence the outcome of the situation dealing with the schools and the unification of the churches in Cory or the school situation in Centerpoint and the natural gas line situation there. There is, however, slightly more agreement among the lists of those who are viewed as responding with a specified level of intensity and in a particular direction in Cory between the two situations then when direction is not considered. This cannot be said of Centerpoint situations. The Centerpoint influentials list, then seems to be pluralistically oriented on the basis of these two situations. Cory exhibits the same tendency, but to a smaller extent.

There remain two other possible comparisons that can be made using the E and Im indices. The first is to compare the rank orders for persons on the influentials list on the last four situations in Centerpoint and the second is to compare common subjects who were included in all six situations appearing on the questionnaires in Centerpoint in 1966.

There is only one correlation in each of the two indices which is significant when comparing situations 3-6. In both cases that correlation is the one between the indices obtained for the fourth and sixth situations. The correlation value between these two situations can be interpreted as indicating that about 42 per cent of the persons who are viewed by their peers as having the potential to actively influence the outcome in Situation 4 might be expected to have the potential to actively influence the outcome in a similar direction in

Situation 6. In this case there would be an elitist type influence structure in that many of those actively working for an outcome in Situation 4 would be involved in actively working for an outcome in Situation 6. Also there is little change of direction from Situation 4 to Situation 6. There seems, however, to be little connection between the rank orders for indices among other situations. (See Table 5)

TABLE 5

TAU RANK ORDER CORRELATIONS FOR E AND Im INDICES AMONG SITUATIONS 3 to 6 IN CENTER POINT (1966) (10 influentials included)

Effectiveness Index

Situation	3	4	5
4	0.405		
5	-0.364	0.053	
6	0.272	0.650	0.282

Index of Impact

Situation	3	4	5
4	0.405		
5	0.268	0.074	
6	0.272	0.650	0.000

The two situations, Numbers 4 and 6, between which there seems to be some similarity of individuals seen as active participants in determining the outcome, show some degree of similarity in content. Both concern improvements to the community--the sidewalks which have been approved and constructed and the community water system which is now being sought. The town board has been actively concerned with the preparations for both programs. This itself might explain some of the similarity of leadership. Many of the same individuals would necessarily be included among those actively participating in these two situations by virtue of membership on the town board.

There is little use, however, in discussing any connections among the other situations in this group. No other correlations justify such discussion.

We may now turn to the correlations found among the common subjects--ten persons in all--who were involved in all six situations in 1966. Correlations among the E and Im indices for all six situations are shown in Table 6.

There is little sense in discussing in great detail the correlations appearing in the last vertical columns of Table 6. These are simply Table 5 repeated. The ones that need concern us primarily are the correlations of the rank orders for the two indices for situations 1 and 2 with Situations 1 to 6, and how these fit in with the entire picture made up of all situations. These six indices may fill in portions of a picture which have been missed by considering only two or four situations at a time.

Among the rank order correlations of E indices for the 10 common subjects in Situations 1 to 6 there appear only two which can be called significant (not considering the group from No. 3 to 6 which contains one significant correlation which was discussed earlier).

The correlation of E indices for Situation 4 and for Situation 1 varies significantly from 0.0. With this degree of correlation (.549) it is possible to say that there is a probability that as many as 30 percent of the persons thought to have the potential to influence Situation 1 would have the potential to influence Situation 4. Again one should seek some explanation for the high degree of correlation between the E indices for the two situations. On an intuitive basis we notice that both these situations deal with actions taken by the town board at some time in the past. Situation 1 deals with the board's action to bring into Centerpoint a natural gas line and Situation 4 deals with the town board's action to construct sidewalks for the community.

TABLE 6

TAU RANK ORDER CORRELATIONS FOR 10 INFLUENTIALS AMONG SITUATIONS 1 to 6 FOR E AND Im INDICES IN CENTERPOINT (1966)

Effectiveness Index

Situation	1	2	3	4	5
2	-0.289				
3	0.094	-0.330			
4	0.549	-0.645	0.405		
5	0.172	0.319	-0.364	0.053	
6	0.396	-0.396	0.272	0.650	0.282

5

Index of Impact

Situation	1	2	3	4	5
2	-0.156				
3	0.141	0.047			
4	0.645	-0.263	0.405		
5	0.046	0.690	0.268	0.074	
6	0.629	-0.116	0.272	0.650	0.000

Further, we see a significant negative correlation between the E indices of Situation 2 and Situation 4. Situation 2 is that dealing with the closing of the community school. Therein may be the reason for there being a negative connection between it and No. 4 which was one of the situations involving the town board.

Situation 2 (the school closing) may well have involved a different set of persons who made their weight felt upon the outcome of that situation. The school closing was not a situation which necessitated a decision by the town board. From the way it is spoken of by residents of the community the school situation involved many people; and involvement was deep and emotional. A previous involvement in community affairs was not a prerequisite for entering this dispute--only an interest in the school--whether for better education for the children or preservation of a traditional community institution. There were many persons, residents of the community who had no children in the school but who were set on preserving the community school because "it was good enough for me. I got a good education there, and so can the kids now."

This might explain to some extent the high negative correlation between Situations 2 and 4. The persons who made themselves heard on the school issue were persons who were bent on preserving something that had long been a part of their community. These persons are a different lot from those who worked actively for changes brought about by Situations 1, 4, and 6, acted upon by the town board. It might be interjected here that the school issue was a change. But it should be remembered that the sidewalks, natural gas line, and water line were not changes that could be brought about only at the expense of a long-standing community institution to which many residents had a deep attachment. The school situation involved a change of just this nature.

At this point we begin to see a more definite pattern of participation and influence developing. When a larger number of situations are considered together not only can we make judgments about elitism and pluralism, but we can also begin to formulate hypotheses about the types of influences which contribute to a certain influence structure. These hypotheses were impossible when only two situations were considered.

With this in mind it might also be useful to look at the correlations of E indices of Situation 2 with all other situations. Although only one of these correlations varies significantly from zero it can easily be noticed that there is a definite pattern to these correlations, a pattern which is missing from the other vertical columns. In all but one of these correlations of Situation 2 with one of the five others the correlation is negative and relatively high, though not significantly so. The only correlation of Situation 2 with another of the situations which is not negative is the rank order correlation between values of E in Situation 2 and Situation 5. (Situation 5 is the situation dealing with the merging of the Methodist and Evangelical United Brethern churches in the community.) Situation 5, like the school situation, threatens to bring change to the community at the expense of or change to long-standing community institutions. This then would indicate some connection between E indices of Situations 2 and 5.

When one looks at the Im index correlations among these six situations one detects much the same pattern as was seen in the E indices. Again there is high correlation among Situations 1, 4, and 6. These correlations are statistically significant. And again there is high, and this time significant, correlation between Situations 2 and 5. Thus there seems to be a connection between those who would be seen as persons who would have potential to influence the school situation *in a particular direction* and those who would have the same potential in the church consolidation issue. It should be noted that the Im index does include direction of possible response and it is only when this aspect of influence is included that a significant correlation appears. We stress also that this high positive correlation indicates that although a significant degree of correlation did not appear between the E indices of Situations 2 and 5, the direction of the responses of the 10 influentials does correlate significantly for the two situations. This means that although the same persons might not be expected to have the high potential to influence both situations, the direction of response for these 10 may be much the same for the two situations. If someone was strongly opposed to closing the school it is highly possible he would be strongly opposed to merging the churches. And although there is no significant correlation on which to make a concrete statement, the fact that only the correlation of Im indices for Situation 2 and 5 is significantly positive and all but one of the others linking Situation 2 and another situation are negative, though not significantly so, it would seem to indicate that there is some basis for thinking that many persons who would approve of such changes and be active in opposing their implementation would take the side opposite of those favoring construction of the sidewalks, and installation of a water and natural gas line.

These then seem to be some of the major, and most obvious statements which can be made concerning the comparison over a year's time of Vanderbok's devised indices of influence. We have strived to compare similar situations and to give some suggested explanation for what was found in that comparison. Over the year it seems that there has been some change as to who would be considered to have potential ability to influence the decisional outcome and how likely it would be that different persons would become actively involved in the school situation in Cory. Yet there is still significant agreement, one year later, as to the direction of response that would be made by the people included in the two studies. We suggested attribution of the first change to recently acquired knowledge. New knowledge has been gained by the persons answering the questionnaire by virtue of the fact that the school consolidation issue is a current, real problem in Cory. Persons answering the 1966 Cory questionnaire have had a chance to actually observe how closely their 1965 estimations of actions coincided with what really happened when that situation arose.

On the other hand we saw significant agreement between the E indices of 1965 and 1966 and Im indices for the same years in Centerpoint. If the suggested explanation for the change in Cory were accepted, we could attribute the significant agreement in Centerpoint to the fact that no subsequent knowledge has been gained by persons in that town. Centerpoint citizens already know how their neighbors would react in the real situation. The school closing issue was resolved in Centerpoint several years ago. We might also note that since the local school had already been closed the townspeople have little concern for the current Clay County school consolidation since it will involve little loss to them.

Finally when comparing common subjects for the six situations administered in Centerpoint in 1966, we were able to find some significant positive correlations among three situations for which we were able to find connecting links and between two situations in another group. Positive correlations were found among the E indices of Situations 1 and 4, 1 and 6, ard 4 and 6. Positive correlations were also found to exist between Im indices of these same three situations and between Situations 2 and 5--the second group. We found connections between 1, 4, and 6 in that these situations were non-threatening to well-established institutions in the community. They all involved community improvements with no expense to the community institutions. Between Situations 2 and 5 was the connection that both involved deeply-rooted community institutions--the local school and the Methodist and EUB churches of the community, respectively. There are also negative, though only in one case significant, correlations between E and Im indices between situations of these two groups.

One might also note that there is not significant connection between the E and Im indices of situations of either of these two groups with Situation 3--dealing with community-wide participation in preparation for the fish fry. There does seem to be more agreement, however, though not significant, between Situation 3 and those situations dealing with community improvement and the town board.

With additional data then we might want to consider Mr. Vanderbok's conclusions of last year about Centerpoint with those that might come with the additional data we now have.

He said, "The power structure in each of the communities does not demonstrate either a marked elitist or situational organization..."

Speaking only of Centerpoint, and with additional information, one can spot distinct indications of a pluralist type influence structure. There is one group of persons viewed as having potential ability to actively influence a decisional outcome in a particular direction for a group of situations involving community improvement with little expense to community institutions and still another group which will become actively involved and most likely in a different direction in situations involving change to institutions.

The additional data has allowed us to see connections among certain types of situations. The influence structure now cannot be viewed as pluralist from one specific situation to another. It seems to be pluralist only when "decision-making areas" (such as facility improvement or institutional change) are considered. Within these "areas" there is a marked elitist tendency.

Douglas E. Van Houweling 12

SOURCES OF LEADERSHIP IN A RURAL COMMUNITY

Beginning in the summer of 1965, intensive research into the leadership structure of several small Indiana towns has been carried out. Among the types of information collected on the small town elites prior to summer of 1966 are data on influence structure[1], social background, demography, economic status[2], ideology[3], and attitudes towards the community[4]. The research reported here, as well as that which preceded it, was directed by Dr. William J. Gore and carried out by a number of students at Indiana University.

Growing out of the studies cited above, an increasing concern evolved regarding the dynamics of the leadership in the small rural town. Among the early concerns was the question of pluralism versus autocracy which has been dealt with in a paper by William Vanderbok[5].

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[1] William Vanderbok, "Indiana Town Project: Some Demographic Characteristics." Chapter I in this volume.

[2] William Vanderbok, "Influence in Three Rural Communities: An Exposition of a New Approach." Chapter X in this volume.

[3] George Balch, "Powerlessness: Objective and Subjective." Chapter VIII in this volume. John Fishel, "Modernity, Ideology and Political Competence in Three Small Towns." Chapter IV in this volume.

[4] John Fishel, "Urban Places, Services, and the Concept of Community." Chapter III in this volume.

[5] Op. Cit., "Influence in Three Rural Communities: An Exposition of a New Approach."

Also of interest was the question of stability of the leadership structure both over time and between situations of a threatening and a non-threatening nature; this was investigated in a paper by David Hadley[6]. Partly due to the interesting findings in these two previous studies, this researcher has become quite interested in the dynamics which lie behind the expectations the community holds for one of its leaders. It is out of this concern that the research reported here was carried out during the summer of 1966.

In order to investigate the phenomena of community leadership in any structured way, it is necessary to first define some of the key concepts of community leadership. A community leader is defined as one who wields power. Power, in turn, is defined to be that attribute of a person which enables him to potentially modify the behavior of a person or a group of persons. In the terms of this paper, power is measured by determining the expectations of each elite member for each other elite member's attempts to modify the behavior of other persons' on a specific issue area.

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[6] David Hadley, "Cory and Centerpoint Revisited: An Extension of an Earlier Analysis of Influence Structures in Two Rural Communities." Chapter XI in this volume.

The questions that continually reappear, however have to do with the social sources of community power In this paper we will investigate three broad classes of variables which are operationalized into four specific indexes around which our hypotheses are formed These classes of variables, or factors, are approval, allowable latitude of action, and communications availability Approval may be defined as the average strength of positive evaluation any given actor receives from the rest of the elite over the entire range of actions which are positively evaluated by the rest of the elite The allowable latitude of action is defined to be the range of actions that are positively evaluated by the rest of the elite Communications availability is defined as the total amount of communications engaged in by the actor under investigation Throughout this paper the word subject will be taken to mean the person which is being inquired about in the questionnaire The word respondent will be understood to be the individual answering the questionnaire

The remainder of the paper will explain the instrumentation used to measure these factors in one small town elite and present interrelationships of the factors, where they are of interest Additionally an attempt will be made to determine the relationship of any of these factors to the position of the subject in the community's leadership structure.

II

Studies of community power have concentrated primarily on rank-ordering community elite members in terms of potential power. The rank ordering has been done in several ways, and we have done it through the modified reputational technique described by William Vanderbok in his paper.[1] Very little research has been done, however, to isolate the sources of community power. From the social psychology literature, however several promising hypotheses can be found that have been fairly well substantiated in small-group experimentation. This work has led to the conclusions that high power individuals are better liked and have a tendancy to initiate more communication than their low power peers. Additionally, it seemed to this researcher that the individual who possessed comparatively large amounts of influence would also be allowed more freedom of action by his peers. These suppositions led to the formation of the following conceptual hypotheses.

A) (1) An individual who ranks high on the reputational power index will also rank high on initiation of communication.

(2) An individual who ranks high on the reputational power index will also rank high in communications received from others.

B) (1) An individual who ranks high on the reputational power index will also be comparatively highly approved of by his peers for any acceptable action he takes.

C) (1) An individual who ranks high on the reputational power index will be allowed a comparatively wide range of action on any given situation.

As a consequence of the above hypothesis, it would also be expected that the factors of communications availability, approval, and allowable latitude of action would be related. The more interesting of these expected relationships can be stated in the following additional conceptual hypotheses:

A) (3) A person who initiates a large amount of communication will tend to be approved of by his peers

(4) A person who is the recipient of a large amount of communications will tend to be approved of by his peers.

B) (2) A person who is approved of by his peers will tend to be allowed a wide latitude of action.

In order to measure the variables used in the above hypothesis, a model, designed by Jay Jackson, for measuring group expectations was adapted for this research.[8] The Return Potential Model is a two-dimensional model originally designed for investigating norm structures, the two dimensions being action and evaluation. A number of prospective actions that the subject could take are listed with an approval-disapproval scale associated with each of them. Thus, the respondent is given the opportunity to enter his evaluation of each possible action separately. If these actions are scaled to form a continuum from one action extreme to another, it is possible to plot in a two-dimensional space the graph of one individual's evaluation of another.

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[8] Jay Jackson, "The Normative Regulation of Authoritative Behavior," The Making of Decisions. Eds. William J. Gore and T.W. Dyson, Free Press, New York, 1964.

Although any number of interesting indices can be derived from such a graph, two in particular are used to operationalize the variables of approval and allowable latitude of action. The approval variable is interpreted as the average distance between the portion of the graph which is above the neutral line and the neutral line itself. The allowable latitude of action is operationalized as the distance between the points where the graph crosses the neutral line at the ends of the area above the line. Thus, it is possible to derive an index which gives the median approval of each respondent for each subject, as well as another index which gives the latitude of action the respondent would allow each subject to take. By obtaining these scores from each respondent in the elite sampled on all other members of the elite, it is possible to accumulate and average the approval and allowable latitude of action for each elite member as determined by his peers.

In our research in one of the small towns, these scores were obtained with an instrument structured in a situational manner. First, a statement was made of the situation in which the answers were to be cast. Six situations were used, and the first was as follows:

> The town board has before it a plan which would bring a natural gas line into your town. A vote will be taken on the plan at the board's next meeting.

The instructions given to the respondent were as follows:

> How would you feel toward John Doe (name of another influential) if he did each of the following in response to this situation?

(Indicate how you would feel toward him by placing a mark through the line below each possible action listed below. The distance from either end of the line indicates how strongly you approve or disapprove of him for taking that action.) Please keep in mind at all times the name of the person whom you are considering.

The actions, each followed by the six-centimeter continuum for indicating the respondent's answer, were as follows and were generally uniform in their content for all six situations:

1. If he refused to talk to or associate with anyone who opposed the plan for the natural gas line.
2. If he formed a committee to support the plan.
3. If he publicly stated, as in a speech to a local organization, that he supported the plan.
4. If he told his friends and those who asked him that he supported the plan but made no public statement.
5. If he privately supported the plan for the natural gas line but spoke of his support only in private and confidential conversation with his closest friends.
6. If he remained neutral.
7. If he privately opposed the plan but spoke of his opposition only in private and confidential conversation with his closest friends.

8. If he told his friends and those who asked him that he opposed the plan for the natural gas line but made no public statement.

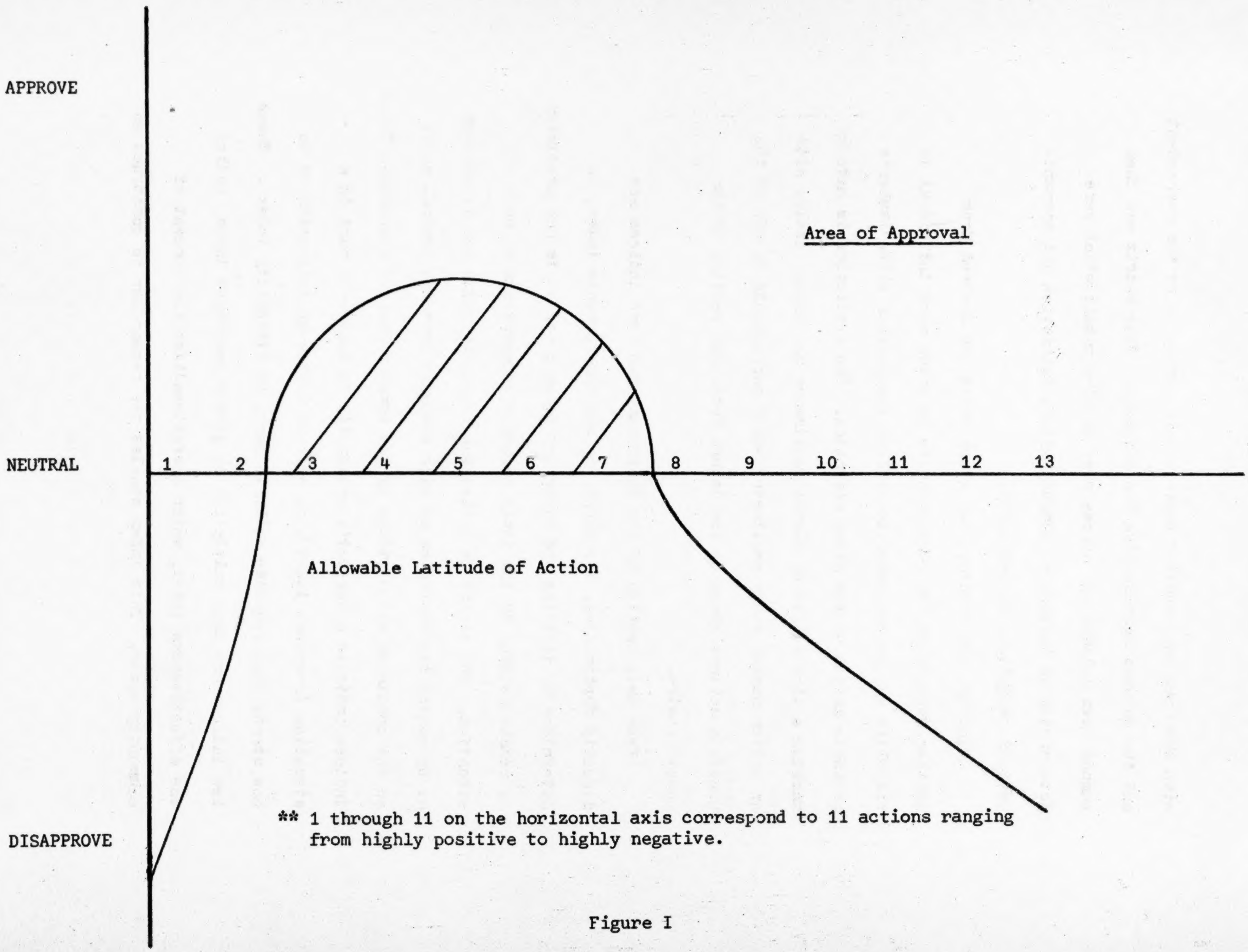
9. If he publicly stated that he opposed the plan for the natural gas line.

10. If he formed a committee to oppose the plan.

11. If he refused to talk to or associate with anyone who was in favor of the natural gas line plan

As is obvious, these possible actions range along a continuum from being strongly in favor of the plan to being strongly opposed Thus, it is possible to develop the Return Potential graph from the answers to these questions, and therefrom derive the indices of approval and allowable latitude of action for each elite member.

Another section of the questionnaire was designed to operationalize the communications variables that are used in the hypotheses. With regard to each situation and every other elite member, every member of the elite sample was asked to list from three to six individuals the subject under consideration would talk to concerning the issue under consideration. The respondent was asked to rank order the people listed in the order of the likelihood that the person would actually be communicated with. If the respondent named six individuals with whom the subject would be likely to communicate, the first mentioned was given six points and the second five and so on until the last was given one. If only three names were given, the first mentioned would receive three points, the second two, and the last, one. The points thus tabulated were entered into the appropriate cell in a matrix


APPROVE
NEUTRAL
DISAPPROVE
Area of Approval
Allowable Latitude of Action
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13

** 1 through 11 on the horizontal axis correspond to 11 actions ranging from highly positive to highly negative.

Figure I

with the rows representing those people nominated by the respondent and the columns representing the subjects. This matrix was then summed down columns and across rows to give totals which were interpreted as indices of communications initiation and communications reception, respectively.

Finally, the reputational power index was derived from another section of the questionnaire in which each individual in the elite sample was asked to predict every other elite member's probable action on the given situation. The prediction is made by marking a line across an eleven centimeter continuum labeled with an action number every centimeter which corresponds to one of the possible actions given in the Return Potential section of the questionnaire.

From this section of the instrument two more indices are directly forthcoming. The first, called the response index, is determined by dividing the number of times a person is not predicted to remain neutral by the total number of respondents on each situation. The second is called the intensity index and is arrived at by adding the distances of each response from the neutral point on the continuum and dividing by the total number of responses. These indices indicate a subject's propensity to take some part in a situation (response index), as well as giving an indication as to how strong that response will, in fact, be (intensity index). These two indices are then multiplied to give a resultant index, called the effectiveness index, which operationalizes the concept of community power. This index enables the researcher to construct an interval scale on which individuals in a community can be placed on the basis of the perceptions and past experience of their peers, who have themselves been chosen on the basis of a multi-staged, issue oriented, reputational design.

All of these sections of the questionnaire were administered to 16 out of 19 of an elite chosen on the basis of similar work done a year earlier in the same small town. The first cycle of interviews used two situations having to do with natural gas being made available to the town and the consolidation of the local school. Ten people were then chosen to represent the elite on the basis of their sociometric positions of high reception of communications. Four more situations were then administered to these ten people to obtain still more information concerning the community's leadership structure. The raw data was then computer processed to derive the indices as defined above (See Table II). Regression techniques were used to assess the relationships in the data and test the hypotheses. The remainder of the paper will present those results.

TABLE II

Scores Derived from Analysis of Raw Data

Subject	Situation	Approval	Allowable Latitude of Action	Communications Initiation	Communications Reception	Effectiveness Index
1	1	12	35	84	8	0.06791
1	2	6	35	77	11	0.0359
2	1	11	45	125	131	0.0450
2	2	7	46	86	188	0.0384
2	3	14	44	79	14	0.0345
2	4	13	26	61	20	0.0438
2	5	11	28	47	136	0.0350
2	6	8	63	54	32	0.0491
3	1	12	44	81	83	0.0510
3	2	6	36	87	105	0.0692
3	3	15	39	73	102	0.0280
3	4	15	41	57	42	0.0064
3	5	6	67	76	29	0.0021
3	6	15	40	53	45	0.0183
4	1	9	62	80	70	0.0731
4	2	7	48	86	48	0.0223
4	3	19	41	58	15	0.0191
4	4	14	39	69	65	0.02841
4	5	10	52	70	10	0.0067
4	6	17	40	51	61	0.02521
5	1	12	41	68	27	0.0341
5	2	6	56	106	45	0.0710
6	1	9	49	100	65	0.04611
6	2	6	50	110	92	0.0553
6	3	18	41	49	31	0.0173
6	4	11	35	51	23	0.0215
6	5	8	50	80	44	0.0364
6	6	13	37	50	21	0.0158
7	1	13	40	97	292	0.0011
7	2	5	64	91	150	0.0034
7	3	15	41	70	51	0.0398
7	4	17	41	73	60	0.0306
7	5	8	66	48	33	0.0033
7	6	16	41	55	72	0.0284

TABLE II (Continued)

Subject	Situation	Approval	Allowable Latitude of Action	Communications Initiation	Communications Reception	Effectiveness Index
8	1	13	40	165	468	0.0978
8	2	4	45	120	320	0.0225
8	3	17	40	85	142	0.0707
8	4	14	35	78	164	0.0760
8	5	5	45	61	64	0.0083
8	6	16	42	70	163	0.0788
9	1	10	49	106	152	0.06671
9	2	6	60	94	109	0.0266
9	3	16	39	61	7	0.0016
9	4	15	41	40	109	0.0306
9	5	12	51	78	39	0.0313
9	6	15	42	75	83	0.0350
10	1	12	42	112	58	0.0322
10	2	7	45	118	124	0.0650
10	3	16	39	70	28	0.0252
10	4	12	41	50	20	0.0048
10	5	8	49	73	47	0.0143
10	6	16	42	68	22	0.0301
11	1	11	42	100	9	0.0416
11	2	5	40	104	103	0.0379
12	1	12	42	100	4	0.0295
12	2	8	32	78	17	0.0201
13	1	9	44	83	21	0.0191
13	2	5	52	86	18	0.0227
14	1	11	45	104	57	0.0510
14	2	4	45	96	36	0.0225
15	1	10	47	99	75	0.0513
15	2	4	50	104	16	0.0347
16	1	13	43	100	78	0.0429
16	2	6	46	118	43	0.0255
16	3	17	42	65	56	0.0448
16	4	12	33	69	69	0.0433
16	5	9	70	63	21	0.0069
16	6	14	41	63	46	0.0350

TABLE II (Continued)

Subject	Situation	Approval	Allowable Latitude of Action	Communications Initiation	Communications Reception	Effectiveness Index
17	1	12	47	81	9	0.0223
17	2	5	51	92	25	0.0517
18	1	10	41	82	32	0.0286
18	2	3	47	94	16	0.0269
19	1	10	38	91	21	0.0378
19	2	4	47	90	132	0.1884
19	3	14	38	70	0	0.0237
19	4	10	37	56	1	0.0049
19	5	8	47	48	11	0.0115
19	6	10	45	65	1	0.0134

III

The statistic used to evaluate the relationship between the variables was the polynomial regression, which attempts to fit a curve up to the fifth degree. In no case among the variables used here was there a significant relationship of higher than first order, so only the correlation and the significance of the first order relationships will be dealt with below. The hypotheses will be treated in the order of their occurance in the first section of the paper.

A) (1) There will be a positive correlation between the effectiveness index and the communications initiation index.

The correlation between the index of communications initiation and the effectiveness index is .42068 with an F value of 16.23151, which is significant with 72 degrees of freedom at the .001 level. Thus there is fairly good evidence that hypothesis A) (1) is in fact true for the elite in the town studied. On the other hand, it is interesting to note that only about 17.2% of the variance in the response index can be accounted for by the communications initiation index.

A) (2) There will be a positive correlation between the effectiveness index and the communications reception index.

Additionally, the correlation between the index of communications reception and the effectiveness index is very similar at .41916, also significant at the .001 level with an F value of 16.19876. The communications initiation index is correlated with the communications reception index only at .51538, which would seem to indicate that the two indices are explaining different segments of the variance in the effectiveness index. The correlations between the sociometric information and the effectiveness index are to be expected, in that the latter index is constructed on the basis of community expectations for an individual's action on a given issue, and the majority of the action possibilities are communications oriented. On the other hand, it is important to note that probably much less than half of the variance in the effectiveness index is explained by the communications variables, which indicates that there are other important factors involved in this indicator of community leadership.

B) (1) There will be a positive correlation
between the effectiveness index and
the approval index.

The correlation between the index of approval and the effectiveness index is -.08062 with an F value of .49715. Thus the evidence is that there is almost no relationship between approval and community leadership as operationalized in the effectiveness index.

C) (1) There will be a positive correlation
between the effectiveness index and
allowable latitude of action index.

The correlation between the allowable latitude of action index and the effectiveness index was -.09066 with an F value of .62981. There seems to be no relationship between the freedom of action given an individual and his position on the reputational power index.

Before attempting to evaluate these two null hypotheses, however, some light may be shed by examining some of the subsidiary hypotheses.

A) (3) There will be a positive correlation between the communications initiation index and the approval index.

The correlation between the approval index and the communications initiation index is -.41030 with an F value of 15.38431, significant at the .001 level. This highly significant correlation confirms the negation of the hypothesis. In other words, a person who initiates a large amount of communications will tend to be disapproved of by his peers. There seems to be a feeling among the elite that some individuals can be too vigorous in their initiation of communications. It might be further speculated that the instances causing the negative correlation between communications initiation and approval were predominantly different instances from those that caused the positive correlation between communication initiation and reputational power. This supposition is borne out by the fact that there is no significant correlation between approval and reputational power. Thus it might be said that those individuals who are disapproved of for initiating communications are not the same people who rank high on both the reputational power index and the communications initiation index. It is only in the speculative manner that any link can be found between approval and reputational power.

A) (4) There will be a positive correlation between the communications reception index and the approval index.

The correlation between the communications reception index and the effectiveness index is -.02619 with an F value of .05215. There appears to be no relationship between the approval a person receives and the communications directed at him. It must be noted that this is not a paired comparison; that is, a comparison correlating the communication pattern with the approval intensity of one dyad at a time. Thus it is not directly possible to say that the lack of confirmation of this hypothesis is at odds with the literature that has found a strong relationship between affect structure and communications patterns. All that is indicated here is that the persons most highly approved of on the average by their peers in the elite are not likely to be those persons to whom most of the communications are directed by the elite as a whole.

B) (2) There will be a positive correlation between the approval index and the allowable latitude of action index.

The correlation between the allowable latitude of action index and the approval index is 4.45471 with an F value of 19.80921, which is significant at the .001 level. Here again the relationship is the reverse of what hypothesized, in that it appears that a person who is approved of by his peers will, in fact, be allowed a smaller amount of freedom in his actions. This is perhaps a result of a more crystallized expectation structure for the person who is highly approved of.

Needless to say, the results presented above do not confirm the theory advanced earlier that two sources of community power are approval and comparatively large amounts of freedom to act in different ways.

There are three significant patterns that emerge from the analysis. The first pattern to be dealt with is the obvious gap between these findings and the small group studies done by the social psychologists. The manner in which this data was analyzed, as was pointed out earlier in the paper, may be the reason for this conflict. We are now in the process of analyzing the data dyadically to find out if this is, in fact, the reason for the seeming contradiction.

Second, it is interesting to note the two negative correlations, the first between the permissible latitude of action index and the approval index and the second between the approval index and the communications initiation index. The apparent lack of the unidemensionality that was expected here points out clearly what a factor analysis of these variables and others also derived from the same data made quite apparent. There seem to be three definite factors in the data, which are nearly orthogonal in nature. The first includes the reputational power index and the sociometic indices. The second contains the approval index and the other related indices derived from the graph. The third contains the permissible latitude of action index and its related variables. This suggests that it may be necessary to consider all of these factors in order to accurately evaluate the leadership structure of a town. An attempt was made in the analysis to utilize the factor scores from the factor analysis to assign positions in the leadership structure, weighted according to the amount of variance each factor explained. The resulting rank-ordered list seemed plausible to those who had an aquaintance in the town, and a forthcoming paper will deal with this problem.

Third, and perhaps most interesting, there is no relationship between the reputational power index which we have called the effectiveness index and either the approval index or the allowable latitude of action index. While this could mean that approval and freedom of action are not attributes of a community influential, this researcher would not want to make that statement on the basis of the data presented above. It would be well to assess the reputational power index itself. All this index can be said to measure is the elite's expectations for the subjects expected actions in a given situation. It makes no attempt to deal with the problem of the subject's success or failure in the actions that are predicted. Thus, an individual might score very high on the effectiveness index because he would be likely to take strong action in a given situation. But since there is no measure of his probable success at that action, we have no measure of his actual impact. Therefore, the effectiveness index might be more aptly called an intensity of action index. There is no necessary connection between this index and actual success at wielding power in the community. Since the theory presented above is concerned with effectiveness of leadership, it may be that the dependent variable does not in fact measure this, and this is the reason that the theory was not substantiated.

Finally, the study as a whole suggests that another look needs to be taken at the problem of operationalizing the concept of community power. The three patterns mentioned above reinforce each other in leading to the conclusion that we still do not understand very well the dynamics of community influence and further suggest that it may be valuable to press somewhat more assiduously into the problem of getting a working understanding of this phenomenon which will enable us to at least operationalize the concept in a manner more intuitively satisfying.

Paul Allen Beck 13

ATTITUDES TOWARDS LAW ENFORCEMENT IN A SMALL TOWN:

A Study of Personal and Depersonal Values

INTRODUCTION:

An important, but too often unmentioned, principle of research is that the researcher can never detach himself wholly from the situation which he is analyzing. In other words, a certain number of predispositions always enter and serve to guide research. Most often these predispositions are embodied in the hypotheses which are advanced for empirical testing. It must be said that this is a vital part of any research. All of us have certain feelings about the structure of things which we see around us. It is from these feelings that our hypothese should be formulated so that they do have some basis for being initiated. Once these feelings have been recognized, it is then highly important for the researcher to outline his predispositions and trace the route over which he followed them to their validation or rejection.

This is the course I propose to follow in my research. First, I shall outline the theory (my predispositions) underlying my hypotheses in the form of a model of sorts. Second, I shall state the hypotheses and their supporting structures, along with setting out the framework in which they have been tested. Third, I shall analyze the data which my empirical study has provided me. This will allow me to return to my initial predispositions bearing evidence--evidence which will cause me to accept them, reject them, or alter them in some way or another. Fourth, I shall express certain intuitive feelings derived from the work I did. These feelings can not be supported by any evidence. Thus, they must be offered only as predispositions for another time. It might be said that they are postdispositions which will serve to refine the model of the situation which I saw.

PART ONE: THEORETICAL STRUCTURE

My initial dispositions towards the town of Cory came from several sources: numerous trips there at which time I was able to discuss the town with some of its residents, talks with other researchers who had studied the town, and contact with some of the literature describing comparable towns.

I conceptualized Cory, defined as the Cory mailing area, as a rural sub-culture in an urban culture; a sub-culture which has basis in the past. This distinction can be better visualized by means of a model within a model. The circumscribing model is that of the urban culture which dominates the United States. Cory must be considered as a part of this model because it must interact with the rest of the nation and because it can not hope to isolate itself from the effects of urbanism. It is likewise instructive to view the culture of Cory as a separate culture, although constituent to it, of this dominant urban culture. The rural sub-culture of Cory is as it has been for may years. In it, a premium is placed upon neighborliness, the church, extended family relations, and other characteristic relationships which serve to differentiate it from the urban society at large. In short, Cory is the scene of many of the characteristics of small-town life which have been the basis for the so-called rural myth. In order to best describe this rural sub-culture, let me turn to the description of small-town life given by Alexis de Tocqueville in his Democracy in America.

De Tocqueville discusses almost every aspect of the kind of life which he found in America when he came to its shores in 1831. For my purposes, however, it is necessary to focus upon only a small part of the model which is implicit in his study. Our focus shall be upon his description of the administration of the laws in America

While he found the government (i.e., the processes by which the laws were made) of the states highly centralized, he described the administration of those laws as decentralized. "The state usually employs the officers of the township or the county to deal with its citizens." (7:page 88) This, he went on to say, was the saving virtue of the American system of government. As tyrannical as the legislature might become in making the laws, these excesses could always be mitigated in the judicious execution of the laws at the local level. Presumably, local officials, knowing their communities well, could operate with great discretion in deciding whether or not to apply a certain law in a given situation.

Later on, I shall characterize this type of administration of the laws as personal, meaning a type of administration (or execution) which does recognize who the person is in dealing with him and which gives preferential treatment to some, but not to others. It was this personal type of administration which served to provide much of the underlying current of concensus which de Tocqueville found to prevail in our system at that time. "It is not the administrative, but the political effects of decentralization that I most admire in America. In the United States, the interests of the country are everywhere kept in view; they are an object of solicitude to the people of the whole Union, and every citizen is as warmly attached to them as if they were his own." (7:94) Not only did this form of administration serve as a check against majority tyranny, but it also served to induce each citizen to participate in his local government.

To accept de Tocqueville's observations as an adequate description of local administration as it functions today, however, would be erroneous. For, such a view would ignore the changes which have taken place in the United States since the early 1830's, when the community bounded each individual's actions. Not long after de Tocqueville departed from our shores, forces set in which were to change the character of American Society. Cities began to grow by leaps and bounds, stimulated by the tremendous influx of immigrants who came to American shores after the Civil War. People left their small communities to take advantage of the wealth of opportunities in the cities. By World War I the forces of urbanization had predominated in the United States. And, by the 1960's the United States was approaching a point at which it was as much urban as it was rural in those days.

Concomitant with this urbanization has arisen a social structure much different from that which characterized the rural nation about which de Tocqueville wrote. The communtiy became less and less important as a boundary to man's actions. The terms "neighbor" and "friend" lost much of their synonomous character. In short, much of one's affairs were conducted on an impersonal basis with people the individual did not know.

The implications of this displacement in interpersonal relations for decentralized administration are obvious. No longer can administration be carried out effectively on a personal basis. Laws can no longer be left to the discretion of the local official for enforcemnt. Administrative relationships between neighbors were predicated upon a pattern of social controls which were no longer predominant in society. Since the ordinary citizen could not closely scrutinize the local officials, he had to depend upon other forces to serve his interests, such as interest groups and political parties.

These new patterns of interaction (i.e., scrutiny of officials through mediating forces) were juxtaposed upon old patterns of regulation. The system had not yet adapted to the change in the society at large. On the one hand, government was too complex and too distant for the citizen to deal with alone; thus, he came to depend upon these go-betweens. On the other hand, the administration of the laws was still left to the discretion of the local officials by casting themselves in the role of go-betweens. The instrumentalities of government were captured, especially in the large urban areas, in order that they might serve to benefit a select few. Local administration became the fief of the political boss who controlled it through a complex pattern of trade-offs which served as the lubricant for his political machine.

This period of boss rule was particularly characteristic of the large cities in the latter half of the nineteenth century. In order to correct the abuses brought on by this machine government, a government reform movement was started. The cry of the reformers was that the making of policy (politics) had to be separated from the execution of that policy (administration). Along with this, the reformers advocated removing the administrators from politics by taking from them their discretionary powers. By the turn of the century, the reformers had gained the upper hand. The civil service reform which they advocated stymied much of the personal administration which had characterized rural America.

The effects of the governmental reforms imposed during this period were felt mostly in the urban areas of our nation. Rural America, the samll towns unchanged since de Tocqueville and seemingly immune to all the change which had transpired around them, retained traditional basis of administrative relationships. Local officials were not covered in these rural areas by much of the reform legislation. Because of the rural control of the state legislatures, these laws were enacted specifically for the cities and not for the rural areas where, presumably, contamination of the political processes had not set in. Yet, increasingly, rural America came to be penetrated by the agents of the reformed system. Rural administration came to be a two-tiered system in which two different kinds of administration were practiced.

FOCUS OF THE RESEARCH:

From this broad consideration of all administration, let us now turn to a more specific inquiry. Let us now deal with law enforcement in these rural areas, meaning criminal law enforcement and its agents. Law enforcement in this sense is an excellent example of this two-tiered system of administration. The county sheriff is the local officer, embodying a personal type of administration. The state police are officers predicated upon the needs of urbanization, embodying what I shall later call a depersonal type of administration.

The state police were created through the office of the governor, in most cases, to meet the demands upon law enforcement posed by increased urbanization. Because the county sheriff could not adapt to these problems as they affected his county, the state police came more and more to inject themselves into county law enforcement. With the mass usage of the automobile, crime was no longer confined to the community in which the criminal lived. Outsiders had easy access to the rural areas in which the type of law enforcement which prevailed was quite favorable to their criminal activities. Thus, the state police were called upon to handle the problems brought into the rural area from the outside. Their entrance into the rural law enforcement system had far-reaching effects upon this system.

More important than anything else, the state police brought to these rural areas a new type of law enforcement, which I shall call "depersonal." By "depersonal" law enforcement, I mean a non-discriminatory, unbiased-type of enforcement whereby the officer does not give preferential treatment to a person because of his status. Rather, the officer is constrained and prevented by means of formal sanctions from enforcing the law differently for different persons.

Most sheriffs (there are a few exceptions) remained unable to cope with the new problems and chose not to face them, leaving this task to the state police. "although the increasing complexity of urban life brought important administrative reforms to the cities, the rural justice system (went) on without substantial revision or adjustment and in the face of social and economic changes which (were) nothing short of revolutionary." (6:3) Three major forces prevailed to prevent the rural justice system from adapting to the new demands urban "contamination" posed: (a) a consistent adherence to traditional forms and methods; (b) the full impact of these changes had not yet been felt on rural life; and (c) the accepted view that rural crime was not of the magnitude to require highly developed means for control. (6)

In essence, it seemed almost as if rural America was ignoring the forces of urban society, suggesting that nothing had changed and perpetrating a myth of rural virtue and urban vice. De Tocqueville's observations came to be more than a description of life at one point in time; they came to be the description of a sacred ideal that was only realized in rural America. And, rather than trying to adapt to the changes around them, rural America withdrew from the mainstream of American life and isolated itself in a culture of its own. This culture manifested itself in a number of ways, chief among which were the doctrines of grass roots democracy and local autonomy. "Enfeebled rural justice (was) thereby protected from vigorous revision by popular attitudes on local autonomy." (6:279)

In summary, let me present my predispositions in an explicit model form. In the rural areas of the United States, there is a two-tiered law enforcement system in regards to the means of enforcing the laws. The sheriff, on the one hand, deals with local problems in much the same personal manner that he has always dealt with them. The state police, on the other hand founded upon a different type of demand, deal with those problems imposed upon the area from the outside in what I have called a depersonal manner. Thus, what we have is an arena in which there are two types of law enforcement. It is not surprising, because the rural society feels both cultures, that these two types have come to prevail side by side, even though their problem-area focuses are theoretically separate.

PART TWO: THE HYPOTHESES AND THEIR TESTING STRUCTURES

I built my hypotheses upon this difference between the state police and the sheriff. My pretest enabled me to conclude that there really was a difference between the two of them concerning the way in which each enforced the law. A state policeman, I found, must be very careful to avoid any incidence of favoritism, for such preferential treatment, if exposed, would cause him to lose his job. The sheriff, on the other hand an elected official, is dependent upon certain personal backers if he wants to be re-elected. He is granted the support of community influentials, businessmen, and politicians in exchange for certain concessions he must take to them from time to time. Furthermore, he is not constrained by formal sanctions from giving preferential treatment. The only group to which he can be held accountable (in all but the most flagrant of violations) is the public. And, even the public expects him to be very considerate of the people and circumstances involved each time he acts. They expect him to take the matter before a judge only when all personal and community pressures have failed to deter the criminal or, rather, the deviant.

From this perception of the two-tiered law enforcement system in Cory, I expanded my inquiry. I presumed that those people who had had less contact with the dominant urban culture would value the type of personal law enforcement practiced by the sheriff since they were aware only of prevailing rural conditions. But, as the person became more and more exposed to urban culture, I presumed that he would come to value derpersonal law enforcement. That is, I felt that depersonal law enforcement values would be found in conjunction with urbanization; and, that the more urban influence had penetrated the individual, the more he would cling to depersonal values.

However, a test of this hypothesis alone would leave it exposed in my theoretical schema. That is, the hypotheses which support it should also be tested. Whereas many things were assumed in my initial model, a few hypothese had to be validated in order to connect this model to my central hypotheses. These connecting hypotheses were structured into my questionnaire; hereafter, I shall refer to them as the "internal checks" on my reasoning.

First, I had hypothesized that the people in Cory did, in fact, perceive a difference between the two law enforcement officers. To measure this difference in perception as to how each enforced the same laws, I included a section in my questionnaire which sought to indicate which of the two was prone to show greater favoritism. Second, I had hypothexized (again, implicitly) that the people would indentify with and depend upon that officer who best represented the values they held. This required two sets of questions; the first determining what values the respondents themselves held, the second asking them whom they would contact when they needed a law enforcement officer.

I also attempted to structure several controls into my questionnaire. The most important of these was a check to see whether or not the respondent was guilty of holding any personal bias against a certain officer. Another was a check on the second of the two preceding hypotheses; there, I asked the respondent to indicate which of the two officers was most capable of handling the problems of Cory.

The content of the research will be presented as a series of hypotheses in order that testing may proceed more systematically. I hypothesized first that there would be some dispersion between scores. This is an essential step because it indicates that the rural sub-culture is not a culture in itself but rather a part of a larger culture which transmits certain values to the former. Then, I hypothesized a positive rank correlation between the respondent's ranking on an urbanization index and his ranking upon the law enforcement value index.

In order to test the preceding research hypotheses, it is best to formulate them into a null hypothesis-alternative hypothesis form:

(1) Ho: None of the respondents accept the values which characterize personal law enforcement.

Ha: Some of the respondents accept the values which characterize personal law enforcement.

(2) Ho: None of the respondents accept the values which characterize depersonal law enforcement.

Ha: Some of the respondents accept the values which characterize depersonal law enforcement.

(3) Ho: There is a significant negative correlation or no significant correlation between a low urbanization score and personal law enforcement values.

Ha: There is a significant positive correlation between a low urbanization score and personal law enforcement values.

(4) Ho: There is a significant negative correlation or no significant correlation between a high urbanization score and depersonal law enforcement values.

Ha: There is a significant positive correlation between a high urbanization score and depersonal law enforcement values.

The test of correlation used for these two variables was Kendall's tau; it was to be significant at the .05 level, which means that I have selected the less restrictive of the two most common levels of significance. I feel justified in allowing my alpha to equal .05 because I am not interested any more in rejecting a true hypothesis than I am in failing to reject a false hypothesis. Consequently, I am taking the middle road.

Kendall's tau was used here because the assumptions which underlie the data which I have collected require a non-parametric test of correlation. Both of the indices which I use are ordinal in nature. That is, neither is based upon the assumption that the data is isomorphic, or that the successive intervals between the classes are equal. I can not assume, with my data, that the difference of one between scores on either scale means just half as much as a difference of two, and so on...

Since I was dependent upon the urbanization score as it had been determined already, the population from which I selected my sample was composed only of those having urbanization scores. Also, I reduced the population even more by deleting all those under twenty-two years of age (the lower limit of one of the age classes.) The residual of one hundred and seventy-four people was my population. By use of a table of random numbers, I selected sixty of those people. The first forty selected were my sample; the other twenty were replacements for any of the forty whom I could not interview. Out of the forty people whom I picked to be interviewed, I was unable to interview six. Five of these were refusals, and the sixth was out of town for the entire summer.

A comment must be interjected at this time concerning the randomness of my sample. While I used a random manner in the selection of my sample from the population, the resulting sample was by no means random. Rather than a random sample of all people over twenty-two in the town of Cory, it was a random sample of all those having urbanization scores. Furthermore, the fact that I could not interview six of the first forty precludes any conclusion that I got even a random sample of those with urbanization scores.

The instrument which I used to collect my data was a fifty-item questionnaire, which I personally administered to all but three of the respondents. These three were given the questionnaire by another researcher, who was extensively briefed before administering it. (See Appendix A for the scoring system and a critique of the questionnaire.)

PART THREE: DATA ANALYSIS AND HYPOTHESIS TESTING

The culmination of empirical research is an analysis of the data gathered in order to accept or reject the propositions which were tested. All of the observations offered in this section are supported by data.

Let me first direct my attention to those hypotheses which I termed "internal checks." First, I had proposed that the respondents would perceive a difference in the degrees of favoritism exhibited by the two officers in the course of their duties. Thirty-two of forty respondents substantiated my presumption by expressing the feeling that the sheriff would be prone to show more favoritism. Only one respondent of the forty felt that the two officers would show favoritism in an equal number of cases. The other seven felt that there was no difference in the relative amounts of favoritism the two would be prone to show. Thus, my initial presumption was correct: most of the people with whom I dealt did perceive a distinction between the ways in which the two officers did their duties. The sheriff was viewed as a personal law enforcement officer while the two state policemen in the area were viewed as depersonal law enforcement officers.

Second, I had proposed that the people would depend upon that law enforcement officer who best represented the values they held towards law enforcement. My data did not support this proposition. Most of the respondents were found to hold depersonal values towards law enforcement. Nineteen respondents had perfect value scores (seventeen) and only five had extremists, three felt that the sheriff would exhibit favoritism, while two felt that he would not. Thus, just over half of them perceived the differentiation which I had proposed. It is of interest, furthermore, that of the nineteen with perfect depersonal scores, six felt that the the sheriff showed no favoritism. The fact that this hypothesis was not validated makes my central hypothesis quite tenuous. For, how can I say that people with a greater contact with urbanism hold depersonal values if many do not perceive a difference between the two sets of values? I must look elsewhere for attachments to either sheriff or state police.

My data allows me to make additional observations upon this proposition. As indicated previosuly, there was a considerable lack of correlation between law enforcement values, attitudes towards which officer was depended upon most, and a third variable--an attitude towards which officer was the most capable. Sixteen respondents felt that the state police were better able to handle the problems of Clay County than the sheriff; six felt that the two officers were equally capable; and, eighteen felt that the sheriff was better able to handle these problems. Of the sixteen who thought that the state police were better able, however, only seven said they would contact the state police if they were in trouble. In all, only nine respondents said they would contact the state police when they needed a law enforcement officer. From this data one conclusion is obvious: the people of Cory depend heavily upon the sheriff for law enforcement aid. The reason for this dependence, however, is not as obvious. Less than half of the respondents felt the sheriff was best able to handle the problems in Cory, while most of them held law enforcement values which were opposed to those they perceived him to represent. It is clear that neither of these offer sufficient reason to cause them to depend upon the sheriff as they do.

I did control for any personal biases towards the officers. An examination of the data showing **the four characteristics of each** officer shows no patterned feelings towards any of them; except that most people felt that both officers were either average or above average in each of these qualities. If any conclusion is to be reached from this data, it is that the state police were ranked a little bit higher. The mean score for the state police was 47.75, while the mean score for the sheriff was 53.75. These scores are remarkably high when one realizes that the lowest possible mean score would be forty and the highest possible mean score one hundred and twenty.

With this subsidiary analysis finished, it is now time to focus upon my central hypothesis: that there would be a positive correlation between the urbanization score and the law enforcement value score. Testing by means of Kendall's tau, the correlation was found to be -0.050. This correlation was found to be not significant at the .05 level, but it is significant at the .10 level. Propositions one and two, which were only preliminaries to the central propositions, were validated. But, both of my principle propositions must be rejected. From the date, I must conclude that there is no correlation between the urbanization score and the law enforcement score.

While my central propositions were rejected in the empirical testing of them, I feel that the reasons for this rejection do not lie with the conclusion that there is no real connection between the two variables. In other words, what I am saying is that other factors may have intervened so as to render the two variables unmeasured in the sense in which I wanted to use them.

This reasoning is justified when one looks at the range of both the urbanization and the law enforcement value scores. Neither of them is spred out so that it approaches a normal distribution. High score for the former is twenty-nine and low score is nineteen, indicating a spread of ten. The mean of these scores is 24.175, and all of the scores lie well within one standard deviation from the mean (12.65). A glance over the instrument which was used to determine these scores indicates why so little spread was registered. The urbanization score seems to be useless for comparing people of the same culture. Rather, it seems to be a cross-cultural comparison in terms of how urban or rural a culture is in relative terms. If I am to use this score, I must be careful to use it only for comparison purposes and not as an absolute indicator.

My questionnaire also failed to record the kind of differentiation among values that I desired. There should have been more questions in order to elicit a diversity of values. Instead, it was structured so that two respondents with somewhat similar values might score the same. Furthermore, in administering it, I felt that those people who deviated just a few points from the top score either misinterpreted some of the questions or saw nuances of meaning that I had not intended them to see. This lack of differention is obvious when one looks at the range of scores which I received. Nineteen of the forty respondents registered perfect depersonal value scores (17). Fourteen more were within four of this score--less than a standard deviation away. And, since my data was ordinal in nature, the value of a difference of four can not be determined accurately. There were only three scores at the other extreme--less than five points. Instead of the bimodal distribution that I had hoped to receive, I got one skewed to the left.

Becasue neither of these indices recorded the kind and range of scores which I desired, I have not given up the hope that my central propositions are essentially valid. It is evident that I failed to give these propositions the operational test I had intended to give them.

PART FOUR: POSTDISPOSITIONS, CONCLUSIONS REACHED WITHOUT DATA TO SUPPORT THEM

Understanding need not terminate with the limits of the data. There are certain perceptions I have gained by doing this research that can not be backed up by data. These perceptions are drawn from certain interrelations among my data which can not be explained from data. They will be presented in the context of my rural model, serving to refine it and to bring it more into line with what I saw in Cory.

The skeleton of my model is basically unchanged. Cory lies in what I have called a rural sub-culture. This sub-culture is anchored, unmoving in a turbulent river of urbanization. The dominant culture of our nation is, indeed, an urban one, based upon urban norms and values which are a great deal different than many of the norms and values which characterized America in de Tocqueville's day. Yet, in Cory as in many comparable small towns, the norms and values which characterized de Tocqueville's America are still extant. They live on, but they have no been able to escape all of the change around them. The overwhelming rush of the river of urbanization is quickly eroding the small island anchored in its midst.

It is the extent to which urbanization forces are wearing down rural America that I underestimated. I presumed that the urban influence upon the rural sub-culture would produce a certain amount of dynamism in my model as it induced a transition from rural life to urban life. Yet, I did not presume that the rural sub-culture, while appearing unaltered on the surface, could also be dynamic.

The values and attitudes of the people of Cory are undergoing a transition from rural oriented to urban oriented. It is the rural myth itself which is not surviving the rush of the river of urbanization. The rural people, as a whole, perceive the changes occurring around them and are adapting their lives to fit these changes. In this sense, the need to perpetuate a myth of rural virtue is obviated.

Yet, while the rural myth is disappearing from their thought, it still dominates their actions. These people interact much as they always have. It is almost as if they perceive the changes and adapt to them individually, but, as a group, they ignore them. In this instance, the group or community is not the sum of its individuals. Rather, it has a different personality altogether. The community and the actions of the people within it towards one another are static.

In order to try to understand why the rural myth still prescribes community interaction, it is instructive to view the small town vis-a-vis its economic functions. The change from rural to urban has not forced the farmer to alter his mode of life; he is an integral part of even an urban society. What it has done was to force the marginal farmer out of business, so that those who remain are quite viable. But, the change from rural to urban did have the effect of driving the small town into economic obsolescence. The small town has lost its raison d'etre because the farmer now by-passes it in search of better facilities in the cities.

Economic obsolescence alone, however, does not bring on this strange duality in individual and community action. What does produce this duality is a remembrance of how things were in the "good old days," coupled with the realization that these days can never return. The rural community is the last vestige of the old rural culture. The interactions prescribed by it can not change until the community itself undergoes jolting change.

Many people use the rural community as a crutch which they must lean on to face the complexities of modern life. To those people the perpetuation of the rural myth in small town life is very important. And, as I said previously, it is the rural community, above all, which embodies this myth. Those who return to the community are those who need the myth for support in their interactions with others.

Thus, what was once neighborly interdependence with a large degree of self-sufficiency has become a mutually agreed determination to play the game as it always has been played and with the same rules, although the game has lost much of its meaning. What was once a positive desire to interact within the community has become a desparate need for this interaction. This is not a need for interpersonal realtions, but rather a need for security in face of growing threats to the rural sub-culture. And, having nothing to fall back upon in this time of need except the community, it is the community which has come to embody the rural myth.

The preceding alterations upon my initial model should be taken for what they are--intuitive feelings which help me to understand a way of life with which I am not too familiar. I really do not know how many people fit the pattern which I have just explicated. Some of those whom I interviewed did; others did not. One must be careful not to attribute too much worth to what I have said. The remarks I make should be taken to be in the form of a hypothetical model which can only be validated by gathering new data in a new inquiry.

In passing, an important reservation must be made in light of what I have described. I may well be overstating my case when I generalize to the entire urban sub-culture from my experience in studying a limited manifestation of it--the rural law enforcement system. It is apparent to me that the lives of the respondents revolve around concerns other than that of law enforcement. The incidence of crime in and around Cory is unusually low. Thus, most people have had very little contact with the sheriff or the state police in their law enforcement officer roles. It may be that, because of this, my questionnaire did not tap any deep-seated preconceptions or attitudes. I can not help but feel that in order to describe the rural sub-culture more accurately I must direct my attention to the individual's important concerns.

PART FIVE: CONCLUDING REMARKS

It is my intention that the preceding inquiry be included in a much broader framework: that of the understanding of change. In part one I was concerned with the transition from personal to depersonal administration. Further along, I studied the effects of this transition upon rural law enforcement, noting that both types of administration prevailed in rural America. I observed also that the values which the people of Cory held towards law enforcement could not be reconciled with the way in which they perceived the sheriff to be doing his job. I concluded that this strange dualism of thought and custom lay in a more extensive dualism between thought and action in Cory.

It is indeed unfortunate that change can not come without an expensive price tag upon it. The residents of Cory today are the ones who must pay the price in order that their descendents might enjoy the commodity. Just how long this payment period will be depends upon a multitude of factors, most of which are outside of the purview of this paper. Yet, in the end, the community of Cory must die. In its place must arise a new type of community-- one founded upon positive relationships between its citizens, not one predicated upon a mutual, almost desparate, necessity to find security in each other.

The Questionnaire
(See Appendix L)

Nancy Cohen 14

THE SMALL TOWN AND ITS IMAGE

Even the most precise academicians, the chemists and physicists, have acknowledged the paradoxical and seemingly inherent evasiveness of "reality." Yet social scientists in mimicry of the greater exactitude of research in the physical sciences, have been pursuing a quest for a more difinitive reality. Characterized by a seige of rigorous, operational definitions and strict methodology, a scrupulous, if somewhat simulated adherence to "objectivity" has ensued. However, in trying to ignore people's varying perceptions because they are so often erroneous, they sometimes seem to be missing the cutoff in their struggle toward scientific acceptability. Strict confrontations and analyzations of reality are thus constantly bemuddled; precautions in measurement are all subject to widespread abberations in perception. As important as the reality categorically examined by an outside observer is the reality as perceived by the inside participants. Similarly the multitude of criticisms levied against attitude scales often fail to take into account the underlying assumption of possible, if not probable, divergence between avowed attitudes and subsequent acts. It is, however, this discrepancy, despite its elusiveness, which merits further study; statistical correction for the errors at times being inadequate for understanding the phenomenon.

This is not, however, meant to be a justification of an avoidance defense or a rationale for sloppy research. If anything, the presence of such discrepancies enhances the challenge and substantiates the necessity of delving even more carefully into these differing perceptions of reality. After observing the foils of such research endeavors, Kenneth E. Boulding, in a recent publication, proposes that the often-used word, "image"[1] be a unifying concept in studying science in general and behavior specifically.

> The image lies behind the actions of every individual. It counts for the growth of every cause. To recognize the image is to begin to understand the scientist, the believer, the crusader, the soldier.[2]

For example, Arthur Vidich and Joseph Bensman credit Springdale's image of itself as a wonderful place to live, raise a family, etc. as actually conditioning its way of life. "By constant focus on warm and human qualities in all public situations, the public character of the community takes on those qualities and, hence, it has a tone distinctly different from city life."[3] Individual members of the community try to "live up to the image," ascribing, at least verbally, to the public ideology.[4] Lingering outward manifestations thus tend to prevent acknowledgement of the dissolution of the town's image of itself, subsequently postponing dissolution of the town "community." Thus, the "community" had long been the accepted symbol of peace and stability until Sinclair Lewis' brutal expose'--even before the statistical methods were available for application. With the shattering of the image, life in rural America, no longer sacrosanct, has been subject to scientific probing.

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[1] Kenneth E. Boulding, The Image, Ann Arbor, Michigan, U. of Michigan Press, 1956.

[2] Boulding, Op. cit.

[3] Arthur J. Vidich and Joseph Bensman, Small Town in Mass Society: Class, Power, and Religion in a Rural Community, Garden City, New York, Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1958, p. 32.

[4] John Fishel, "Modernity Ideology, and Political Competence in Three Small Towns," Bloomington, Indiana, 1966, p. 11.

Centerpoint, Indiana, is one of four towns which have been research sites for several projects over the past two years. Located approximately midway between Bloomington and Terre Haute, in Clay County, it is described by their Chamber of Commerce as:

> Outstanding fishing and recreational facilities...
> Clay center of the world...
> Great number of superior churches.
> Excellent banking facilities.
> One of the top counties in the state for rural and urban fire protection...
> Six state and federal roads cross the county...
> An abundance of friendly, industrious citizens...
>
> R. D. McHargue
> County Agent[5]

There are many people who say that it is almost impossible to understand Centerpoint without having lived there for at least twenty years; others say a month or two is enough. Excluding the aid such insight might give, I, as an outside researcher and lacking such advantages would have to add that a clear understanding of Centerpoint today is only possible when put in context, compared with the Centerpoint community as it was in the near and distant past.

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[5] R. D. Hargue, "Some Good Things About Clay County," Clay County Chamber of Commerce, Brazil, Indiana.

An enterprising founder, anxious to see the town grow, "plotted" the town. As phrased in the Centennial pamphlet: "Some towns have grown up where they are from the very nature of things...other towns have their origins in the speculative minds of men. Thus it was with Centerpoint."[6] The desired county seat was lost to the neighboring town of Bowling Green, but incorporation of the town in 1869 brought with it exclusive control of the school and its property. As was typical of most early rural communities, both the E.U.B. and Methodist churches had been established at least a decade before the town of three hundred became incorporated--thus laying the foundation for a community centered around church and school. The population remained relatively stable until the turn of the century and the discovery of rich coal deposits. As is evident by the numerous pit mines still surrounding the town, it was coal that brought in more settlers at times pushing the population up to 800 and ushering the people through corresponding boom and bust eras. At one time boasting three hotels, two funeral directors, and even a tavern, the businessmen of the town, many of whose descendants still live in the area, encouraged civic pride and an inordinate degree of self-sufficiency as compared, for example, to Cory. Only later, as the coal mines closed and many of the Easterners returned home or to the more metropolitan areas did Centerpoint, with its surprisingly large string of stores lining main street, settle down into its present Sleepy Hollow existence.

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[6] Floy Graser, Centerpoint Centennial, 1956, p. 1.

Those who stayed were committed to the image of "The Greatest Little Town in Indiana."[7] And this was easy as long as the mainstays of the community--the churches and the school--remained. With easy access to the staples of life, the farmers (even today the most prosperous men in town own land despite their official profession) had little need or desire to travel far from home and to cope with the outside world. Centerpoint considered itself a self-sufficient and competent unit. Thus, while the secularization of modern life is presenting a mild threat to the urban community, the magnitude of the crisis for the rural community is only understandable when present modes of action are set against the ethos and history of the Centerpoint community. While the older population has remained relatively stable, unchanged despite the geographic mobility evidenced in most sectors of the country,[8] numerous tantalizing urban centers have wooed some of the community's most able members into their midsts. Some of these younger people come from families who have resided in Centerpoint for generations, their predecessors dating back to its founding over a century ago.

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[7] Graser, Loc. cit., p. 15. The phrase "The Greatest Little Town in Indiana" has been recently brought into use again in reference to the Centerpoint community. Displayed prominently on license plates, it is a remnant of the days when the community was the site of a regional athletic tourney, the attendance of which often rose to 1,500.

[8] William Vanderbok, "Indiana Town Project: Some Demographic Characteristics," Bloomington, Indiana, p. 9.

Beyond the preliminary census taken of all the inhabitants in the community, the bulk of the research has been on members of the "elite"--the political elite, social elite, etc. The underlying assumption has been that this group, once determined, because of an apparent interest in the community will be a functional group, and willing to cooperate. As leaders, they are, it is hoped, in a position to mold as well as mirror the concensus of opinion within the townsite. Without belying the validity of such assumptions, it is often the case that the leaders' ideas are different from the rest of the community's or else their ambitious, high-sounding and well-meaning enthusiasm does not filter down to the other members of the population. Moreover, the very things which have made the elite so "good to work with" (e.g. their accessibility to and acceptance of college students) are some of the things which have made me shift the emphasis of my research away from the elite in this particular study. Rather than make my study one of many in which this group has taken part, I am instead interested in reaching a group who has not been so conditioned to questionnaires and interviews, thereby reducing the likelihood of their having formed response sets. Though running the risk of receiving stilted answers and less than truthful responses, my initial hesitancy was overriden by my hope for spontaneity.

Specifically, the focus of this paper has been on the "younger segment" of the Centerpoint population. The only requirements were: (1) that they be between twenty and thirty-five years old and/or a married couple, and (2) that they live within the confines of the Centerpoint community. I thus excluded those in this age group who live "out" in the country. Limiting my focus to this group I had originally hoped to speak to all members of this population grouping, thereby avoiding any inaccuracies involved by random sampling techniques. When irregular and erratic working schedules made interviewing the entire group impossible, I took care that at least one member of a particular family (e.g. brother or wife) in that age group was interviewed. I was thus able to contact twenty-six of the thirty-five members of the community between twenty and thirty-five years old.

Excluding Centerpoint for a moment, this age group throughout the country has been observed by its elders with varying expressions of chagrin, bewilderment, scorn, concern, and mild amusement. If anything, the recurring (as of each generation) complaint that "It certainly isn't the way it used to be when I was younger" has been echoed with increasing vigor. Labeled in sequence: "beat," "soft," "protesting," and "aware," there have been an increasing number of youthful aspirants in government and Peace Corps type positions--all taking an increasing interest in their home and more distant communities, and many registering verbal dissatisfaction with having to wait for a gradual transference of the reins of power. An explicit acknowledgement (and perhaps implicit acceptance) of this may clarify interest in this part of the townsite. The extent to which they too are disgruntled with the status quo and comply with the standards and norms of the community as a whole will logically affect the extent to which they accept and are satisfied with the community. Furthermore, whether or not they are presently leaders in the community, it is either from this group or from the "outside" (which is highly doubtful considering tradition) that the future leaders will have to emerge.

My underlying assumption was that if a "substantial" number of this group was at variance with the community, they would surely welcome and/or try to implement future changes.[9] However, as a whole, one of the most consistent trends in this area has been not to implement but to prevent change. Before beginning the project word had filtered back that this area was notable because of its virtually non-existent crime rate (even in comparison with the typically low rural rates) and the general state of nondeviancy among its inhabitants. There was no mention as to particular sectors of the population (e.g. 20-35). Such compliance with rules and general acceptance of authority or attempts to change it would have emerged from other projects or the demographic data extracted from the original census. However, the only pertinent indicator was the simple statement that the twenty-two to twenty-five age group had the lowest social participation score.[10] The more interesting, if more difficult question, was left unanswered (i.E.) Why do they not participate? Is it because they simply do not want to become involved, consider themselves above such petty concerns, do not have the time? Do they feel if they tried to do something they could succeed in getting support? Do they need elite support to accomplish something in the town? Do they feel they would not be listened to if they tried to do something either because of their age or the unacceptability of their ideas?[11] Do they care?

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[9] A specific definition of "substantial" was purposely omitted the feeling being that a small, but very purposeful group would make its presence felt in such a small community.

Ideally, I would have liked to uncover why certain people are inclined toward change and why certain others, if they are inclined toward change, are inclined to do something about it; and why or how they sometimes succeed. Practically I realize that any such study, especially as short a one as this, can only scrape the surface. Within a workable framework, I am seeking to discover (acknowledging the inherent limitations of an "outsider") who in this group was orientated positively/negatively for or against change: generally as a concept (e.g. progress) and specifically as different issues affected the townsite and their lives (e.g. school consolidation--past and future). A corollary inquiry in both of these areas, also sought, is whether or not they have in the past or will in the future try to affect or to hinder such change.

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[10] Vanderbok, Loc. cit., p. 6.

[11] George Balch, "Power and Powerlessness in Three Small Towns," Bloomington, Indiana, 1965, pp. 7-8.

Although specific incidences and attitudes lead to a more extended characterization of this group's participation and role in the community such facts were to provide only the basis of the characterization. Relevant as is their participation in community projects, perhaps more relevant is the manner in which they perceive such participation. The bases of the former is how this group perceives itself--individually, as a group, and as a part of the larger Centerpoint community. In relation to change and the community's future, their own perceptions should be viewed against the way they expect their peers and the rest of the community to react.

The "community" in rural mythology has always been a special classification of people, more an extension on one family unit, than as several distinct subgroups. Therefore, the extent to which this group adheres to this classification technique and perceives itself in the context of community values may well effect its potential as an active force in the community.

The above covers a wide range of subject areas. Because so little had been done previously with this group, almost anything I could add to the information obtained was relevant and facilitated analysis of the research data. In that sense, the scope was virtually unlimited in that anything pertinent to this age group was pertinent to the research as a whole. Being a part of an accepted research team as well as daily exposure and countless conversations with other members outside this age group living in the townsite was most helpful. Not only did such conversations provide easier access to certain individuals on my formal list, they also served to clarify and substantiate many issues and viewpoints. Thus I was acquainted with the majority of the issues and problems confronting the town in general and this age group specifically. Moreover, the attitudes of the other members of the community, and their perception of this twenty to thirty-five age group, gave me a vantage point in subsequent interviews.

Due to the rather broad scope of the research design I utilized a loosely structured technique of interviewing, in contrast to the tighter questionnaires commonly used. The interviews ranged in length from fifty minutes to two hours, with the mode approximately ninety minutes. A few people were interviewed twice. Because most of the interviews followed a similar trend, the same type of results obtained by a stricter design were, in fact, generated. Additional explanations given at the "interviewee's" ease hopefully limited the often inevitable ambiguities. A substantial portion of the success may be credited to the fact that the ensuing conversations could become just that -- conversations. In this way some of the hostility against questionnaires and researchers could be minimized and individuals, forgetting the scientific nature of the interview, might display attitudes and feelings they might not put down in writing. Given the loose structure originally set forth, the informal interview also allowed freedom--style-wise--to adapt to the specific interests and area conflicts of each individual.

It is customary at this point that a number of hypotheses categorically listed are followed by a set of statistically correlated results. But the loosely structured interview, so convenient and flexible in format, is at a disadvantage. My initial queries were more in the nature of "What's happening in Centerpoint?" rather than "I predict that..." Nonetheless, given the reported influx of change I expected to find this twenty to thirty-five age group more susceptible and willing to accept change, in contrast to the hostility and distrust voiced by their older counterparts in other studies. Increased education levels and greater contact with a wider environment would tend to foster a greater tolerance of difference and expression of deviance; similarly, the secularization of daily life, to the degree it has reached the townsite, would not be painful for them to accept. Not having as much to lose as more established members of the community, they would not be so vehemently antagonistic to outsiders. But despite the avowed nationwide trend, it appears doubtful whether the majority would be very concerned with most of the town issues. More concerned with the problems of raising a family, etc., many never considered the issues as such until so confronted, and I expected only those who were of the crusader type to be more than vaguely concerned with "the community." Even if the attitudes of the unconcerned towards the community were not neutral, I anticipated their participation in its activities to be passive. Setting out with no covert aim to prove or disprove one particular theory, I was able to use the latitude provided by the framework of the interviews to disclose more fully the relation and perception of these twenty to thirty-five year-olds in reference to the Centerpoint community.

A general overview of the results of this research shows at first glance acceptance of the myths about rural life--its friendliness, warmth, concern. Such clichés are the mainstay of the high degree of civic pride exhibited, the feeling that Centerpoint really is "The Greatest Little Town in Indiana," and always will be. It is only on second glance that the varying degrees to which these people are committed to these traits is evidenced, especially in the twenty to thirty-five age group. Even the most content do not blindly accept the myth, and instead all express a semi-myth. Voicing in part the adages of independence, they paradoxically criticize, mildly or vehemently, certain areas of dissatisfaction in their style of living: the inconveniences (rather than the quaintness) of well water and crank phones; the closeness, where everyone knows everyone else and which may breed petty jealousies; and the boredom. What appears is a distaste for the small town gossip in which none of the interviewed take part and a distrust of a pseudo-closeness and concern thrust on them by the community-at-large. That each would spring to defend his home if it were being criticized by an outsider does not mitigate the fact that many desire a little less closeness and a little more privacy--the mere statement of which hinted at the originally unexpected segmentalization of this group which appeared later. Therefore although all claim that they would like to see the town progress and initiate changes for the betterment of the community, most are only vaguely aware of the issues, and only a handful are willing to participate actively in bringing about such changes.

Perhaps the most significant factor in trying to understand the young people of Centerpoint and their role (functional or not) in the community is recognition of the viewpoint that: "There really aren't very many young people in Centerpoint." This response which emerged during my first interview began a pattern which was echoed by all the townsite inhabitants at one time or another in each subsequent interview. The portent it holds for further analysis is not self evident. It is important, nonetheless. On the part of the older, more established members of the community this perception enables them to carry on in the accustomed manner without having to be concerned with this particular subgroup in the decision-making process. They do not expect a great deal of help and support from this group--nor do they attempt to solicit it. Youthful agreement with this situation would necessarily imply an acceptance of the establishment, a perception of their weakness leading to an acceptance of a status quo which they could not alter as well as an ideal rationalization for not bothering to try, "since I can't do anything anyway."

If true, this statement might well have been the basis for explaining the apparently insignificant position of the young people in the community. Part of the importance in examining people's perceptions of themselves is to be able to discern at least the overt discrepancies between such perceptions and a measureable reality--when the latter exists. Such is the case here, despite the fact that the uncontested format of such assertions had masking properties. Surface validity aside, a wider examination of the population illuminated an even more important corollary: despite the unanimity of the perception, it is not true. In fact, as the summer progressed my original list of ten names trebled and this is excluding the surrounding countryside which was included in the research design. Therefore, despite the perception and the very real trend on the part of the young people throughout the country to migrate from the rural to the urban areas, the actual number of young people in Centerpoint is not as drastically reduced as its inhabitants believe it to be. What may be important is the fact that such was not the case even as recent as six years ago. One young Centerpoint couple, returning after a three year absence remarked on the definite increase in this part of the population since their return three years ago.

It is therefore apparent that despite any numerical increase, no substantial increase in importance has been assigned to the group. The changeover has not even been recognized, much less acknowledged. Perhaps this is an unintended example of the feeling that one cannot really know or become a part of Centerpoint without having lived there for at least twenty years, the myth of country graciousness and being "welcomed into the fold" of the community being something entirely different. On the part of the young there is a generalized feeling (sometimes resentful and sometimes merely accepted) that what the older people want will happen anyway. In fact, all those questioned saw the older members of the community as a potential threat to change in the future as they had been in the past. However, no one considered this particularly unique. Key examples of this mind set are the feeling that the older people will block the proposed water system (discussed unsuccessfully for years) because they do not want and/or cannot afford to put forth the extra money for a water system which they themselves do not need, while the younger people, often with large, growing families will need the additional water a new system would provide. Many of the young also claim (resentfully) that during the school consolidation proposal some seven years earlier the main proponents for closure were those who had school age children and who recognized the inadequacy of the Centerpoint grade school while the antagonists were people who might have attended the school as youths, desiring now to keep it merely for sentimental value, but were without children who would have to attend or suffer the consequences later from an insufficient education.

Entirely unaware of their potential as a functioning unit within the town, the twenty to thirty-five age group reacts as if there were not enough of them to give substance to any position they might take. The result might well be no stand at all, with a generalized feeling of inefficacy pervading their comments. And this feeling of almost complete inefficacy as far as town decisions are concerned is held by the great majority. The few who feel that they could do something, if they so desired, are either too busy doing other things or else completely out of touch with the issues. A large number feel that issues are best left untouched--an attitude usually associated with city mythology. Typical reasons for such attitudes were, "they'll do what they are going to do anyway, whether you like it or not; it's the same now as it's always been." This, however, is not the indifference Balch speaks of in his research; instead it is a resignation to a state of affairs that will not and cannot be changed. Some in this group see change as coming solely from within the "V.I.P." group in the town, but others see it as being superimposed on the townsite by outsiders. In either case they perceive themselves as being in no position to do anything.

Although a mere handful of the group have a working knowledge of the issues, there is a group who is almost completely unaware of the issues or do not, and do not pretend that they do. For them, Centerpoint is a place in which to live and they typify in the extreme those who reside in Centerpoint but do not consider the town happenings or business very relevant to their own lives. As for many of the others--they say they care, yet do not know. Yet, caring or not, they are relatively unconcerned and generally unaware, making vague references to a town board, the members of whom they do not know and have not voted, either for or against.

There is one more group and the resignation of this one is perhaps voiced louder and more resentfully than the former ones. It is composed of those who have tried to do something and, failing or succeeding whichever the case might have been, ran up against open hostility from the community. In it are also a handful who after watching what has happened to others have no desire to get "tangled up in the mess." Members of this "group" go one step further than those who merely say that changing the townsite is impossible. They warn that intervention and a positive stand when not sanctioned by the influentials is ruinous for continued success in the community. They say that all you have to do is "make one person mad and lose your trade." For verification they point to cases where businesses have been known to decline and to feuding families whose members do not even speak after having crossed each other in certain issue areas. Said one housewife, "You've got to 'baby 'em' (the people) because they can run you out of town if they want to. They keep things under control."

Even those who are concerned, know the issues, and are interested in participating (especially those who have succeeded in their efforts) admit that the only way to be really effective is to work through one of the town "elite" (although they did not use that terminology). "Going it alone" is almost an impossibility in Centerpoint--there being only one man to try and succeed in gaining acceptance. It took him eight years and even today he is not completely accepted and forgiven for his "successes." As one leader phrased it: "The businessmen should welcome this type of growth to the existing community. But, if someone moves in and becomes too active in community life, he becomes suspect." The long-time inhabitants, many of whom are unaware of the situation, accept it nonetheless; newcomers or those returning to the community after a time lapse (and this involves several within this grouping) readily observe and acknowledge this state of affairs. Going "slow and easy" appears to be the only feasible way of successfully participating in the community.

But, before anything can be done, whether in a whirlwind or cautious manner, it is necessary to know the pertinent issues. Of those interviewed, there are only eight who appear to have a real understanding of the functioning of the community, with an additional eight having a fair understanding. The other eleven do not know what is involved in the issues, nor do they care. Similarly only five of the eight who know what is happening show a real interest and are active as well; twelve readily admit that they are just not interested. The remaining fourteen are made up of those who are interested in the town, but are unwilling to take a very active part in its functioning.

It is, however, interesting to note that fourteen of the seventeen who had proclaimed their inefficacy in town decisions loudest had apparently never bothered to try to do something. Generally they are more ready to complain than work. The five who are most active were successful and today have a great deal to show for their efforts. It is an interesting sidepoint to note that two of those five have still not been wholeheartedly accepted into the community. Both proclaim disdain for the "togetherness" of the others and it is obvious that this lack of concern for others, while serving as a shield, is certainly not endearing them to the rest of the community. However, only three of those who tried to do something beyond the ordinary failed. As one of the young persons taking an active part in the community categorized his peers: "They're interested only as long as someone else does the work---they sit and talk---and don't appreciate what has been done."

Another who had been active in the school consolidation issue was interested to hear that the majority of the young people questioned had been for closure of the schools. According to him, they had not even bothered to let this feeling be expressed so that at the time no one really knew what they felt. To all intents and purposes they didn't care and the consolidation as a result had been railroaded through.

Such inaction is not, however, merely limited to the political aspects of the Centerpoint community. If man has truly become an "all purpose joiner" as sociologists have been claiming, it is obvious that the people in Centerpoint have not been reading the sociological journals. A case in point is that of the Volunteer Firemen. In most towns in the country, this group is made up of the young men; in Centerpoint it is composed predominately of the older men who originally established it, many of the younger not even bothering to apply for membership. In fact, one of those who did was immediately elected to one of the top offices. The Volunteer Firemen, for example, have numerous social aspects to their makeup such that "the hose rooms act as a clubhouse."[12] However, in Centerpoint the monthly meetings are generally brief. Even the Masonic Lodge, notable as a gathering place throughout the country areas, drawing its members from the entire county, is composed chiefly of "outsiders." Traditionally, youths, upon reaching their twenty-first birthdays, immediately applied; today even those whose fathers are active members no longer bother.

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[12] Vidich and Bensman, Loc. cit., p. 26.

Even the churches, so long the mainstay of the rural community and still very important in town life, no longer have the hold they used to. Many women still belong to committees and related groups but it is predominately the older women of the community who compose the bulk of the membership as they do in various home demonstration groups in the county.[13] And among the men, there is no similar grouping. The minister of the area has been attempting to form such a brotherhood, but this is a difficult task given the rural mind set and the present hassle over the impending consolidation of the two churches. Ideally, the successful organization of such a group would "be a communication source as well--although not structured as such."

The only effective communications center and gathering place in Centerpoint has been the restaurant in the middle of town which has served the businessmen for the past twenty years. Each day at noon the same group gathers around a table in the back to discuss current events--the latest county election, the girl across the street from the bank who did not go to church last Sunday, world politics, the latest Chicago slaying, the Fish Fry, and...to eat lunch. This is, in fact, the "place to go" to find out some of the inner workings and

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[13] In the past few months a new home demonstration group has been formed and it, unlike the one which has existed in the area for the past twenty years, is composed only of young women in this general age bracket. However, only one of the nine members lives within the Centerpoint community.

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attitudes of Centerpoint, especially as viewed by the "town elite." But the restaurant, while certainly not off limits to the younger segment of the population is not frequented by them either. Only for a brief three month interval did they gather there and that was while the present owners took a vacation. At that time a young girl, a newcomer to Centerpoint who had grown up in Brazil, leased it. She changed the whole tenor of the establishment--put in a juke box, cigarette machine, and kept it open until 9:00 p.m. (It now closes at 5:00 p.m. except on special occasions.) The kids in town loved it and even some of the younger wives of the community remember going there occasionally. However, her lesser cooking skills aside, keeping the restaurant open on Sundays as well as on weeknights alienated a substantial segment of the population, who forced her to give up the lease.

This lack of a gathering place, despite its seeming insignificance may perhaps be one of the best indicators as to why the young people in Centerpoint not only do not know each other but are in general almost unaware of each others' existence. Without communication there is seldom much chance of activity. A small segment, about seven, refer to the drug store as the ideal place to get to know people, especially if you are a newcomer in town. It is possible that at one time it used to be a gathering place, but at no time all summer did I see more than two people in there at one time--one of whom was usually myself. And, since the present owners of the hardware store removed the famous "Loafers' Bench" which had served as the farmers' stopping off point on their trips to town, and later the gas station closed; two prime gathering spots for the young fellows of the community became extinct. With no gathering place available, the fact that this group never gathers together is no longer hard to understand.

Beyond perfunctory greetings or the occasional scheduled gatherings, these young people seldom spend much time even talking together, and the country custom of visiting ones' neighbors is becoming almost as extinct. "Everyone is too busy watching television;" and what visiting that is done is mainly within the larger family unit. Newcomers moving into Centerpoint, unless they are specifically introduced, may find the image of "country neighborliness" a mythical one. Viewed in this light, the community's ignorance of newcomers beyond the fact that they have arrived, determinable by observation, is not difficult to understand. So it is with the many new couples recently moved into the townsite. As one of them stated, "The people are friendly enough, but it's possible to go on for months without talking to your neighbor."

Before the high school and then the grade school went through consolidation turmoil, this was the one additional place where everyone in the town, especially the young, gathered. Every time the children in school had a project or festival or show, everyone turned out--particularly the parents. The comment has even been made, with complete seriousness, that the reason so many were opposed to consolidation was because of the rivalry between the Ashboro and Centerpoint basketball teams. Everyone went to the games which served as a gathering function for the community's young parents. There is less of a community spirit about the Brazil basketball team, more about individual Centerpoint players, the sense of a single community purposefulness having been diminished.

When the young couples in Centerpoint get together they do not do so as a group, but with a single other couple. Of those interviewed, I only spoke to two couples who got together often and one other set who would have liked to if they could only coordinate their husbands' work schedules. Except for those who work at the bank in Centerpoint or in similarly scheduled positions, the "typical" 9:00 to 5:00 shift is a rarity. Of the eighteen who hold full time jobs, fifteen commute at least twelve miles daily, and many of them make the hour drive to and from Indianapolis, thus adding two extra hours to a long and often irregular shift. Because many may work the two to ten shift, for example, the reasons why they have little time or inclination to participate greatly in town meetings or to socialize within the town becomes more evident. The town "closes up" early, the only people they have time to talk to for any extended period are those they work with. These people then become their friends, many of them are invited down to enjoy the "country calm" for a weekend.

While the friends of those over forty are located predominately within the county, if not the immediate community, only four of those interviewed make the same claim. The majority have friends outside the community who they met at school or at work and with whom they now associate in lieu of their neighbors. Very few spend evenings "visiting." (I spoke to only two who made a definite point of doing so and they both were well-known and respected in town.) Possession of cars have in a sense given the young as well as some of the older members of the community a feeling of independence and a chance to "get away"--no longer having to limit their friends to the immediate environment as had their parents when they were young. If there is no recreation or entertainment available (which there is not) they simply "take off" for Brazil, Terre Haute, Indianapolis. One of the youths I was unable to contact is a prime example. He spent weekdays working and going to school; during the weekends he and his wife left for a nearby city or lake, rarely spending their spare time at home.

There is, however, one other group which is almost, although not quite, as large as those who are constantly travelling to other places to visit. These are loners in the sense that they associate with very few others either within or without the townsite. They apparently do not care to get involved either with the town issues or with its business. Content to spend their free time alone or with their families, their biggest complaint concerns the lack of privacy and the fact that everyone knows everyone elses' business. However, they are perhaps the least bothered by this. Many of them grew up on farms nearby and hope to return to a farm someday, merely waiting until they can get together enough money to buy one or until some opening appears. Until that time they are generally content with their home in the community as long as it does not impinge too greatly on their individual life styles, which contain no need for the community clubhouse type of socializing.

One man, thinking at length about the fact that there is no gathering place for the people of his age in the community, tried to explain by saying that he couldn't think of any type of gathering place or event that he or the others would enjoy. Beyond the annual Fish Fry and the support it receives there is little that can claim the attention of all the inhabitants. The hunting and fishing for which the area is known provides the main recreation source and this is a sport which is certainly not conducive to large, talkative groups. Beyond the one lake resort not far from town there is a void in recreational opportunities within the community. Even were it not for the water shortage, most of the old ponds are no longer suitable for swimming and the nearest pool is in Brazil.

There is not even a park or recreation hall for the school children. A few years ago a group of ambitious high school students tried to revamp the deserted school house, but met with little help or encouragement. The town board gave permission for the group to begin work on the badminton court, baseball diamond, horseshoe throwing set, etc., but offered no substantive support. Forced to rely solely on their own limited funds to furnish the facilities, it is little wonder that the "Youth Center" was so short-lived. Similar plans by a few of the town youths to add a street dance and so liven up the annual Fish Fry for the younger set met with similar ill-preparedness on the part of those who might have been willing to try it. Aside from the almost insurmountable problem of financing a band and distributing posters to outlying areas as far as Brazil, which would have been necessary to make the evening a success, opposition would surely have come from the older segment of the population. One young girl speaking of the shelved dance plans was certain that the very religious and anti-everything set in the town would surely have sat on the sides in stoney silence, viewing the "spectacle" with varying degrees of moral indignation. She reiterated the pervasive sentiment: "You just don't do things that are different...If kids want to do things, the only way is to get their parents to back them."

Not only parents, but relatives and family in general play an important part in a person's life in Centerpoint. Only two couples of all those interviewed had no previous ties with the community before moving into it.

It is not considered at all unusual to hear a father call his grown son (now married and with his own family) over to cut down a tree, mow a lawn, etc., during his lunch break. Aunts, cousins, and grandparents will also call in daily to check on a young couple and/or their young children--to give advice or just to visit. Even when the parents do not live next door, children will often stop by their parents' country home three, four or five times a week, either to visit or to help with the plowing, feeding, etc. Thus, (returning to established community norms) children grew up under constant supervision. Sunday evening is generally devoted to family picnics (at least in summer) to which all of the nearly relative often come; and yearly many of the more extended families plan a family reunion which can draw as many as seventy people. Visiting on a large scale may have diminished but what does occur is a constant interchange among family units. The proximity of the family group geographically not only tends to squelch privacy, as one newlywed couple phrased it, but also tends to inhibit new friendships with members of their peer group.

If a sociometric grouping of Centerpoint inhabitants were to be plotted, it would probably revolve around family interaction as compared, for example, to extensive peer group interaction. Certainly such a tradition would tend to impede the formation of a closely-knit "group" of young people. In fact, no such "group" exists presently within the Centerpoint community. Differentiation as to attitudes and ideologies might well be even less within such strong family blocks due to this proximity even after the "formative years." Similarly, the chances of becoming an active and successful participant within the community could be heightened by the encouragement and "pull" of a well-established family. As one member of the "elite" said, "there are some people who could never do anything here no matter how much they were willing to try." For the others, it is possible but much more difficult. And not many of this group of "others" are willing to expose themselves, as one man put it to the "jealousy that doesn't want to see anyone do anything."

As far as being in a respected leadership position in the community, even more important than coming from a "good family" is being a "good church-goer." The latter appears to be an almost foregone conclusion for the former to be acceptable. Participation in one of the churches is certainly the most overt means of participation in the town. And, if gaining acceptance from the older sector of the population is a prerequisite for success, regular church attendance is almost mandatory. However, as important as the church has always been in this and other rural communities, it is no longer as strong as it once was. According to the younger members of the town, the elite members usually attend church in Centerpoint, yet most of them are not part of the "fanatical" sector of the community. It is unlike Clay City where "all the big shots in church are the big shots in the town too."

That the church is able to wield any power at all is recognized and resented by many of the younger people in Centerpoint. Twenty out of the twenty-six volunteered information about the church and its role in the town. Ten of this group announced defiantly that they do not, nor plan to, attend church. The feeling of several of them is that "the churches started the clanishness pervading everything in Centerpoint," and they have no desire to be a part of it. Their attitude toward the churches is, in one sense, typical of their attitude toward the town in general. There is a sizeable portion who accept the church, unquestioningly, as part of their lives. However, there does exist another group who does not accept it, at least not so blindly. A good many of this group may attend services, but they do so sporadically and not always in their home community. Some do so with the intention of stopping as soon as they can and a few others are doing so only out of respect for their parents or because they are presently officers in one of the associated clubs. It is among the newcomers to the community that one finds little concern with the church community. These are the ones who are somehow managing to set many of the new, if unwelcome, precedents by not attending at all, proceeding instead to mow their laws, fix their fences, or even sleep on Sunday mornings, despite the obvious chagrin and disapproving glances of their well-menaning, if self-righteous, neighbors.

Two completely differing attitudes toward the majority of this group reinforce the overall view of inactivity. "Ignorant and willing to let the town rot" and "too uncertain to use their potential" were differing characterizations which both imply an avoidance reaction to the town. Typical of their reaction in general is the strong drinking prohibitions that are imposed by the more settled community. During the more rugged coal mining days when the population was perhaps more fluid, there had been a tavern in the town, and more recently there was an established bootlegger "up the road a ways" who had supplied the entire area. Today there are neither. A few of the more outspoken protagonists speak of the day when a bar may be built in Centerpoint again, yet if the reaction of a quarter of the population who stormed the courthouse when someone applied for a license last year is an indication, the probability seems slight. But the people in the twenty to thirty-five age group drink anyway, despite what outsiders are generally told. There is a good number of townsite inhabitants who mantain strong religious attitudes on the subject and would not tolerate the mere mentioning of there ever being a bar in the community. But almost all the younger people I spoke to privately admitted that on occasion they did drink. Even so, the ethos of the community was still strong enough to force each to clarify his statement by saying he did not drink in excess nor did he condone such action. What has evolved within the group is a set of private drinking patterns. A few of the more openly antagonistic readily admit that they drink and do so in the open on their front lawns. With amusement they relate the reactions of their neighbors--ranging from contemptuous side glances to storming into the house to avoid the cantankerous sight. But the majority are resigned to the reproaches that public drinking would entail and so limit their drinking to the confines of their own homes. As one man explained, "Even if a bar were to open up in Centerpoint, everyone would be too embarrassed to walk in the front door, so would go in the back, perhaps finding all his self-righteous neighbors had, surprisingly enough, done the same." No one is, however, about to make the first move.

Without trying to further evaluate the differing variables affecting the young people's life in Centerpoint, it does become apparent that despite the overall serenity and contentment, conditions are far different from what they had been. Recently, values, even more than outward appearance, have been changing extensively, if more subtly. Scarcely a great force for liberal thinking, the community-centered philosophies on which it was based, strove to produce God-fearing and well-disciplined citizens of the community. The increasing secularization of life styles in burgeoning urban and keptical rural areas has stressed self-fulfillment and critical evaluation of information sources. Such a framework might well hinder the previous goals of fostering a sense of community, a sense which has always been the mainstay of the rural unit.

The town's approach-avoidance attitude toward the positive and negative aspects of the change in education may well be shown by the 3:1 vote to retain the old schoolhouse. But despite the general rising education level in the town, at present only ten out of thirty-five have had any advanced training--four of whom will not be finishing, and four of the remaining six having definite plans for leaving the community. The prodding onward to attend college may well be one of the key factors for the depletion of the youth in these areas. The community as a whole, while priding itself on the quality and quantity of its youth, seldom finds the benefits reinvested in the community proper. Not that college in and of itself is an index of potential worth to a community or job, but when combined with the lack of involvement, characteristic of the rural youth, such facts appear to be at variance with the general indications of previous demographic data. Although the general educational attainment and aspirations may be higher, in fact increasing, the youth who remain in Centerpoint to live have not had the educational background of many of the community leaders at present--all of which is indicating a change in the population composition in the area.

Despite the intensity of accusations against the townsite, they seldom go beyond the spoken level. Perhaps outspoken to myself, an "outsider," it is doubtful that such talk ever proceeds to an extent outside the confines of the individual homes. One of the more extreme comments was to the effect that "the young people want to fight the religious hold the old had on the town...so were moving and would one day be running things." This type of indictment against the community appears to be the strongest action taken in the religious sector or any other area in the community.

As one housewife retorted, "this may well be a rural community but it surely isn't like Peyton Place, so you might as well not try to find similarities--there aren't any." Despite any discontentment voiced in individual interviews even the young people of Centerpoint are basically content with their lives in their little community--at least a third of them had no real complaint against their situation. Another third may be discontented with different facets of their life, but have no plans to change these things. Perceiving themselves to be inefficacious they complain, "waiting for the older ones to die off" before trying to do anything different. Accepting without hesitation the basic premise that there are few young people in Centerpoint, seldom do any of them ever try to even alter what appears to be an unalterable situation. The few who have tried to do so before gaining community acceptance often met with failure, or at least a difficult time in the process.

If any reaction could be said to characterize the twenty to thirty-five year old segment of the Centerpoint population, it would have to be resignation. They do not fight proposed issues; they merely ignore them, responding to an unalterable situation by avoiding it as much as possible. Besides and this is an important sidelight, they feel neither so inconvenienced nor attached to the community to attempt to crusade for some "cause." The claim that they are too busy is not an idle one, considering the many double shifts which many of them work. They are by no means radically opposed to the townsite, since they consider it a nice place to live and raise children despite its obvious inconveniences.

None of this group are radically opposed in an active sense to the community. It is necessary for an "outsider" looking in on the community to acknowledge the prevailing patterns of life exhibited by all the participants before superimposing urban standards upon them. The only accepted mode of initiating change is still keynoted by the phrase "slow and easy." Expecting the small town dweller to react with the verve of protesting college students, despite the age similarities, is not only foolhardy but wasteful. Perhaps one of the most important things to realize is that the twenty to thirty-five age group not only does not consider itself a "group," but does not perceive of themselves as consciously rebelling against their town or its moves--whether they disagree with the former or not. They discuss their discontent, when it exists, privately, never trying to bring about a change in public opinion. Those who disagree violently simply move away, thus registering their distaste of small town ways and limitations indirectly. Therefore, surface changes of the area's population do not show the change in population composition that a more detailed analysis might indicate.

Perhaps partially helpful to explain the inactivity in Centerpoint is a reinteraction of the fact that the young people of Centerpoint are unaware that there might be anything to rebel against. They listen to the arguments for and against the new water system calmly, accepting the promises of its impending installation--optimistically or pessimistically making estimates of the actual date. Aware, in a vague sense of the issues' existence, they know neither the details of it nor its subsequent implementation, and they are not particularly upset by this ignorance. For this reason outsiders, accustomed to knowing or being told the details of such projects on demand, may well be amazed by the absence of available information and the accepted state of flux. Newcomers and returning college students, often more aware, find adjusting difficult. So many of the others have always lived in or around the area and accept it, especially since they perceive themselves as they in turn are perceived by the community, as a rather insignificant sector, that is, if they are considered at all.

Thus, alienation from the decision-making areas of the community is not a unique phenomenon in the rural area--even before the additional problems introduced by commuter schedules. The former, along with the friends formed outside the town necessarily minimize the time spent in community participation. The community is a family-centered society which differentiates people more on the basis of family line and length of residence than by age group. Consequently, the young people do not know each other as a group or a potentially active unit, and, having no means of getting together formally (since most avoid town projects and community clubs) or informally at some place like the restaurant, they are not apt to meet or get to know each other except by chance.

Talking to this group for the extended period that I did, it became apparent that although they were generally content with the community many hoped that the future would bring at least some overt attempts at modernization. However, at the same time it became equally evident that they were not very optimistic that this would occur. About half of the couples interviewed had moved into the community within the past eight years and had a tendency to be slightly more optimistic about the future of the community than the "more established" young people. The overall concensus is that even with such innovations the tenor of life within the community will not be changed drastically, as it is heavily based on precedent and accepted ways of doing things.

Nonetheless, this group is different from this age segment in the past. Even though a substantial portion has not gone on to achieve higher education, enough of them have spent time beyond the confines of the Centerpoint community so that they realize there are other ways of life--perfectly acceptable and not as harmful as their parents might have one time believed. One girl, for example, spoke of how disillusioned she was after having gone to college a year,[14] but now feels herself in a better position to judge things around her because of that experience. Whether she or the others in this "group" are better able to judge things around them is of secondary importance and that some, at any rate, feel themselves competent to do so is vital. Having not yet reached the stage of doing anything beyond sitting back and judging their community, many are gradually and quietly refuting a portion of the long-accepted precedent (e.g. do not attend church, do drink and smoke although admitting that their parents think such actions are sinful). It is probably true that the most violently opposed I did not speak to, mainly because they are no longer living there. Nonetheless, the great number who mentioned the possibility of moving whether in the near or more distant future was indicative that the strong commitment which the older members hold for the community has not been passed on to this generation as it had been to past generations of young people. Even members of the oldest, most respected families speak openly of plans to move on--some to the more interesting city, and others to more private country homes. The extreme loyalty and commitment of the parents, while mimicked to a lesser degree by the young is not clung to so tenaciously as it might have been at other times. The positive points of raising a family may well be attracting younger people, however, at the same time, there still is not enough to hold them to the area.

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[14] Of the ten who attended college and are at present living in the Centerpoint community it is interesting to note that only one actually found the experience personally beneficial and enjoyable.

At the present there is no statistically valid way of substantiating the above results--both the bane and the value of loosely structured interviews being the inability of submitting the data to a computer for instantaneous analysis according to a previously determined set of hypotheses and neat operational definitions. The ideal comparison (certainly beyond asking the inhabitants how the community has altered) would be to have the results of a similar study done ten years ago in the same area as well as one ten years hence, thereby spanning at least one generation. However, the former was not done and it is too soon to begin compiling the results of the latter. Excluding the Utopian example, the present manner of research in these type communities certainly appears to be the most effective means of obtaining a working understanding of their inner workings, the type that a structured questionnaire cannot supply. No matter how compact and neat such an instrument may be, the one variable over which the researcher has no control is the willingness of the selected to participate. Certainly, the "personal touch" in these type of communities, which tend to be both closed and closed-mouthed to "outsiders," is most effective. I, in fact, attribute a substantial portion of my success to the fact that I did not have a questionnaire to be completed. Even the most broadminded of this twenty to thirty-five grouping readily admitted their own hesitancy in writing down what they really thought of certain issues no matter how great their resultant contribution to science might, in effect, be.

Moreover, the interest in their home communities exhibited by the interviewer had a tendency to spur the individuals being interviewed (at least in the twenty to thirty-five age group) to look for themselves at issues they had previously considered irrelevant to their lives. It is thus possible to observe the particular group as they react to your questions, to hear the rumors spreading and in a sense, be a part of the inner workings of the community. The obvious benefit is the ease in which the loosely structured interview can be altered to fit the issues and molded to fit the style of the individual so as to receive the same information from all. The interviewer is thus in the unique position of taking notes of the interviewee's reaction as his own image is being flashed on a screen and the film of his life pattern is illuminated and slowly unwinds.

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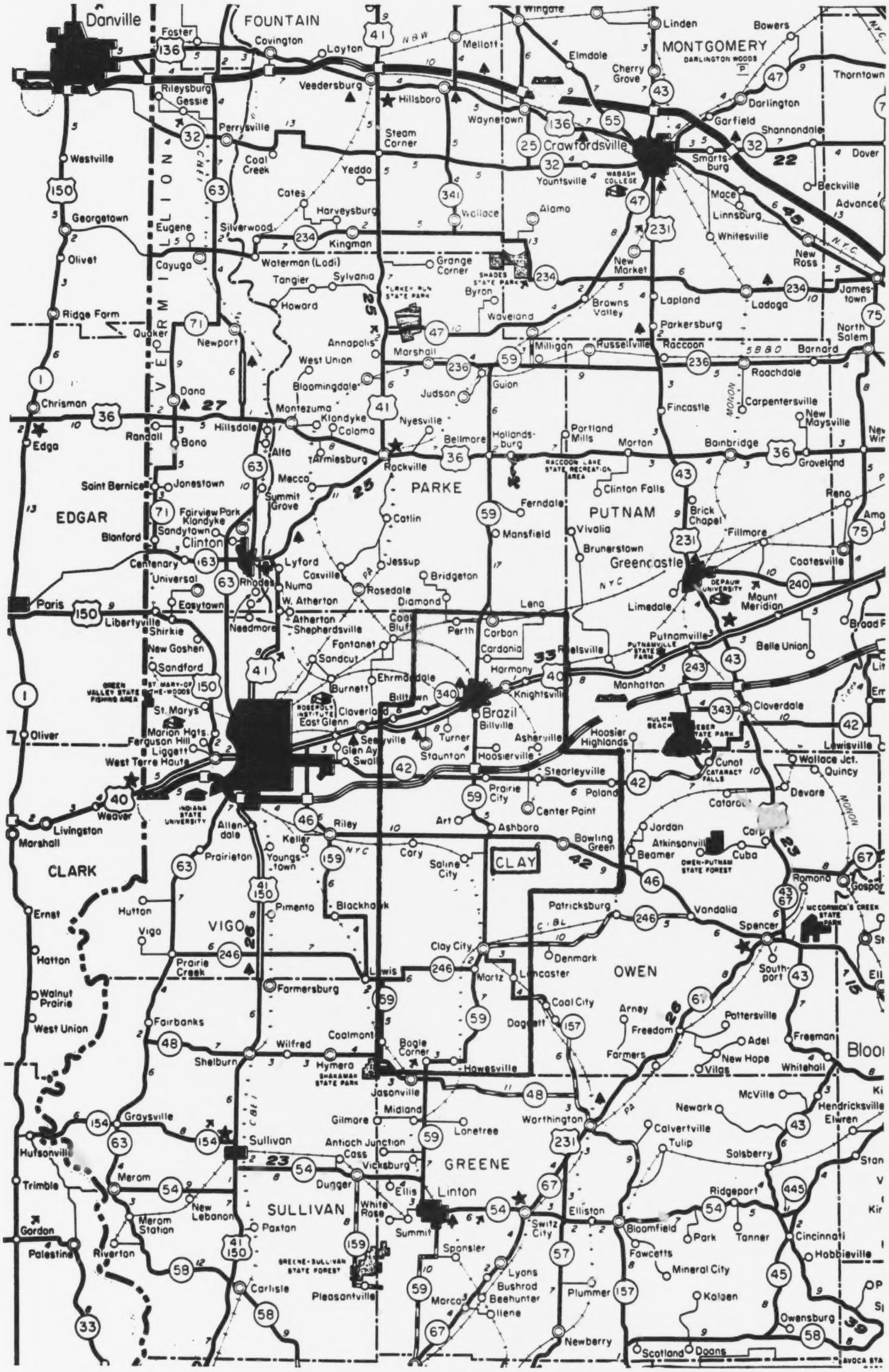
CLAY COUNTY AND ENVIRONS


Danville
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Gessie
Veedersburg
Hillsboro
Elmdale
Cherry Grove
Darlington
Perrysville
Waynetown
Garfield
Shannondale
Westville
Coal Creek
Steam Corner
Crawfordsville
Smartsburg
Dover
Yeddo
Yountsville
Wabash College
Beckville
Georgetown
Cates
Harveysburg
Wallace
Alamo
Mace
Linnsburg
Advance
Eugene
Silverwood
Kingman
Whitesville
Olivet
Cayuga
Waterman (Lodi)
Grange Corner
New Market
New Ross
Tangier
Sylvania
Turkey Run State Park
Shades State Park
Byron
Jamestown
Howard
Browns Valley
Lapland
Ladoga
Ridge Farm
Quaker
Newport
Annapolis
Waveland
Parkersburg
North Salem
VERMILLION
Marshall
Milligan
Russellville
Raccoon
Barnard
West Union
Guion
Roachdale
Bloomingdale
Judson
Chrisman
Dana
Montezuma
Klondyke
Coloma
Fincastle
Carpentersville
New Maysville
Edga
Randall
Bono
Hillsdale
Nyesville
Portland Mills
Alta
Armiesburg
Bellmore
Hollandsburg
Morton
Bainbridge
Groveland
Rockville
Raccoon Lake State Recreation Area
Saint Bernice
Jonestown
Mecca
PARKE
Clinton Falls
Summit Grove
PUTNAM
Reno
EDGAR
Fairview Park
Klondyke
Sandytown
Catlin
Ferndale
Brick Chapel
Blanford
Clinton
Mansfield
Vivalia
Fillmore
Lyford
Jessup
Brunerstown
Centenary
Coxville
Greencastle
Coatesville
Universal
Rhodes
Numa
Rosedale
Bridgeton
Paris
Easytown
W. Atherton
Diamond
DePauw University
Mount Meridian
Libertyville
Atherton
Lena
Limedale
Shirkie
Needmore
Shepherdsville
Coal Bluff
Perth
Corbon
Putnamville
New Goshen
Fontanet
Cardonia
Putnamville State Park
Belle Union
Sandcut
Sandford
Harmony
Reelsville
Broad Park
St. Mary-of-the-Woods
Green Valley State Fishing Area
Burnett
Ehrmandale
Manhattan
Billtown
Knightsville
Brazil
Cloverdale
St. Marys
Rose-Poly Institute
East Glenn
Cloverland
Billville
Oliver
Marion Hgts.
Ferguson Hill
Seelyville
Turner
Asherville
Hoosier Highlands
Lieber State Park
Liggett
Glen Ayr
Staunton
Hoosierville
Lewisville
West Terre Haute
Swalls
Stearleyville
Cunot
Cataract Falls
Wallace Jct.
Quincy
Indiana State University
Prairie City
Poland
Devore
Weaver
Center Point
Cataract
Livingston
Allendale
Riley
Art
Ashboro
Jordan
Marshall
Keller
Youngstown
Cory
Bowling Green
Atkinsonville
Cope
Beamer
Cuba
CLARK
Prairieton
Saline City
CLAY
Owen-Putnam State Forest
Romona
Gosport
Hutton
Pimento
Blackhawk
Patricksburg
Vandalia
McCormick's Creek State Park
Ernst
VIGO
Vigo
Spencer
Hatton
Prairie Creek
Clay City
Denmark
Lewis
Martz
Lancaster
OWEN
Southport
Walnut Prairie
Farmersburg
Coal City
Arney
Pottersville
West Union
Fairbanks
Dagget
Freedom
Adel
Freeman
Coalmont
Farmers
New Hope
Bloomington
Wilfred
Bogle Corner
Vilas
Whitehall
Shelburn
Hymera
Shakamak State Park
Howesville
Jasonville
McVille
Midland
Newark
Hendricksville
Graysville
Gilmore
Worthington
Elwren
Lonetree
Calvertville
Antioch Junction
Tulip
Hutsonville
Sullivan
Cass
Solsberry
GREENE
Vicksburg
Trimble
Merom
Dugger
Ellis
Ridgeport
Linton
New Lebanon
White Rose
SULLIVAN
Elliston
Switz City
Bloomfield
Merom Station
Summit
Gordon
Paxton
Park
Tanner
Cincinnati
Sponsler
Hobbieville
Palestine
Riverton
Fawcetts
Greene-Sullivan State Forest
Mineral City
Lyons
Bushrod
Beehunter
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Plummer
Kaiser
Pleasantville
Ilene
Owensburg
Newberry
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Appendix A

Table I -- Changes in the Urban and Rural Population

	1940		1950		1960	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Population U. S.	75,705,338	57,459,231	96,846,817	54,478,981	125,268,750	54,054,425
Percent Change	8	6.3	18	8.5	29.3	-.8
Population Indiana	1,887,713	1,540,084	2,357,196	1,577,028	2,910,149	1,752,349
Percent Change	5.1	6.8	19	3	23.5	11.1
Population Clay County	8,000	15,000	8,434	15,484	8,853	15,354
Percent Change			6	3	5	-.8
Population Perry Township		1,106		1,034		1,007
Percent Change				-6.5		-2.6
Population Sugar Ridge twp.		1,259		1,071		929
Percent Change				-15		-13
Population Washington twp.		928		788		733
Percent Change				-15		-7
Population Center Point town		332		297		268
Percent Change				-10.6		-10
Population Bowling Green town		235		219		229
Percent Change				-6.8		4.4

Table II -- Race Distribution of Population

		Male	Female	Total
Clay County	W	11,720	12,483	24,203
	N	88	101	189
	Other	5	11	16
Perry Township	W	494	513	1,007
	N	None		
Sugar Ridge twpl	W	469	460	929
	N	None		
	Other	None		
Washington twp.	W	373	360	733
	N			
	Other	None		

Table III -- Marital Status of the Townsite Population

	Male				Female			
	Single	Married	Widowed or Divorced	Total	Single	Married	Widowed or Divorced	Total
Perry township	83	276	13	372	65	275	50	391
Sugar Ridge township	75	257	19	351	50	255	45	350
Washington township	63	204	23	290	31	203	46	280

*** Source of Data -- U. S. Census of Population
Statistical Abstract of Indiana counties
This is the source of data for tables I - VI.

Table IV -- Age Distribution by Sex for the Townsite

	Male				Female			
Age	Perry twp.	Sugar Ridge twp.	Washington twp.	Percent of total	Perry twp.	Sugar Ridge twp.	Washington twp.	Percent of total
Under 14	135	122	90	26	133	120	83	25
15 to 24	61	63	38	12	63	45	37	10.8
25 to 34	45	42	40	9.5	49	41	38	9.6
35 to 44	61	52	33	10.9	70	55	32	11.8
45 to 64	108	114	84	23	113	117	97	24.5
65 and	84	76	88	18.6	86	82	73	12.6
Total	494	469	373		513	460	360	

Table V -- Education by Sex for Clay County and Townsite

	Male		Female		Total (Male & Female)	
Education	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
None	65		48		113	72
1 to 4 (grade	373		269		642	385
5 & 6 school)	507		405		912	553
7 "	615		508		1123	706
8 "	1662		1780		3442	2422
9 to 11 (high	1270		1541		2811	1750
12 school)	1869		2345		4214	2679
1 to 3 (college)	398		464		862	483
4 or more "	294		312		606	343
Median	9.7		10.6		10.1	10

Table VI -- Distribution of Occupations for the Townsite and Clay County

Occupation	Clay County (number)	Clay County (percent)	Townsite (number)	Townsite (percent)
Agriculture	832	10.1	90	23.1
Manufacturing	2,700	32.8	77	19.8
Construction	340	4.1	59	15.2
Mining	354	4.3	17	4.4
Wholesale & Retail Trade	1,548	18.8	22	5.7
Minister, priest, rabbi	88	1.0	35	9.3
Teaching	91	11.1	44	11.3
Secretary or Office clerk	913	11.1	4	1.0
Other	1,451	17.6	40	12.6
Total	8.226		389	

Table 1.--SUMMARY--FARMS, FARM ACREAGE, FARM OPERATORS: 1964 AND 1959

(Data for value of land and buildings for 1964 and 1959 and for farms by type and by economic class for 1959 based on sample. NA denotes data not available; X denotes not applicable)

SUBJECT	1964	1959
APPROXIMATE ACRES OF LAND AREA	232 960	232 960
PROPORTION IN FARMS.	80.4	75.7
Table I FARMS, ACREAGE, AND VALUE		
TOTAL FARMS.	1 266	1 384
ACRES IN FARMS	187 310	176 438
AVERAGE SIZE OF FARM	148.0	127.5
VALUE OF LAND AND BUILDINGS:		
AVERAGE PER FARM	$44 817	$29 177
AVERAGE PER ACRE	301.09	221.94
Table II FARMS BY SIZE		
LESS THAN 10 ACRES	62	61
10 TO 49 ACRES	352	402
50 TO 69 ACRES	97	114
70 TO 99 ACRES	161	199
100 TO 139 ACRES	128	147
140 TO 179 ACRES	86	111
180 TO 219 ACRES	82	82
220 TO 259 ACRES	68	79
260 TO 499 ACRES	178	162
500 TO 999 ACRES	50	26
1,000 TO 1,999 ACRES	1	1
2,000 ACRES OR MORE.	1	-
Table III FARMS BY TYPE		
FIELD-CROP FARMS OTHER THAN VEGETABLE AND FRUIT AND NUT	512	485
CASH-GRAIN	512	485
TOBACCO.	-	-
COTTON	(X)	(X)
OTHER FIELD CROP	-	-
VEGETABLE.	-	-
FRUIT AND NUT.	6	5
POULTRY.	15	25
DAIRY.	43	70
LIVESTOCK OTHER THAN POULTRY AND DAIRY	147	176
GENERAL.	36	45
MISCELLANEOUS AND UNCLASSIFIED	507	620
Table IV FARMS BY ECONOMIC CLASS		
COMMERCIAL FARMS	775	806
CLASS I (SALES OF $40,000 OR MORE)	28	10
CLASS II (SALES OF $20,000 TO $39,999)	117	70
CLASS III (SALES OF $10,000 TO $19,999).	184	186
CLASS IV (SALES OF $5,000 TO $9,999)	186	275
CLASS V (SALES OF $2,500 TO $4,999).	185	225
CLASS VI (SALES OF $50 TO $2,499).	75	40

SUBJECT	1964	1959
FARMS BY ECONOMIC CLASS--CON.		
OTHER FARMS.	491	620
PART TIME (OPERATOR WORKING OFF FARM 100 DAYS OR MORE, SALES $50 TO $2,499).	308	370
PART RETIREMENT (OPERATOR 65 YEARS OLD AND OVER, SALES $50 TO $2,499).	183	250
ABNORMAL	-	-
Table V VALUE OF FARM PRODUCTS SOLD BY SOURCE		
ALL FARM PRODUCTS SOLD	$9 899 401	$7 963 433
AVERAGE PER FARM	7 819	5 584
ALL CROPS SOLD	6 442 854	4 550 999
FIELD CROPS (OTHER THAN VEGETABLES AND FRUITS AND NUTS).	6 314 133	4 458 896
VEGETABLES	1 173	2 322
FRUITS AND NUTS.	84 904	65 625
FOREST PRODUCTS AND HORTICULTURAL SPECIALTY PRODUCTS.	42 644	24 156
ALL LIVESTOCK AND LIVESTOCK PRODUCTS SOLD.	3 446 184	3 412 434
POULTRY AND POULTRY PRODUCTS	273 287	320 978
DAIRY PRODUCTS	650 863	665 310
LIVESTOCK AND LIVESTOCK PRODUCTS (OTHER THAN POULTRY AND DAIRY PRODUCTS).	2 522 034	2 426 146
Table VI FARM OPERATORS		
BY TENURE AND COLOR:		
FULL OWNERS.	688	820
WHITE.	688	(NA)
NONWHITE	-	(NA)
PART OWNERS.	454	428
WHITE.	454	(NA)
NONWHITE	-	(NA)
MANAGERS	1	-
TENANTS.	123	136
WHITE.	123	(NA)
NONWHITE	-	(NA)
PROPORTION OF TENANCY.	9.7	9.8
BY AGE:		
AVERAGE AGE. . . . YEARS.	51.5	52.4
65 YEARS OLD AND OVER.	256	320
BY RESIDENCE:		
RESIDING ON FARM OPERATED.	1 146	1 267
NOT RESIDING ON FARM OPERATED.	100	71
BY OFF-FARM WORK:		
WORKING OFF THEIR FARM	686	717
100 DAYS OR MORE	544	566

Table 2.--FARM OPERATORS BY VALUE OF FARM PRODUCTS SOLD AND YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED; INCOME OF FARM-OPERATOR HOUSEHOLDS: 1964

(All data except those for farms by value of farm products sold and recreation income based on sample)

SUBJECT	1964
Table VII FARM OPERATORS	
BY VALUE OF FARM PRODUCTS SOLD:	
TOTAL.	1 266
UNDER $250	121
$250 TO $499	98
$500 TO $999	132
$1,000 TO $1,499	85
$1,500 TO $1,999	66
$2,000 TO $2,499	64
$2,500 TO $4,999	185
$5,000 TO $7,499	123
$7,500 TO $9,999	63
$10,000 TO $14,999	112
$15,000 TO $19,999	72
$20,000 TO $29,999	87
$30,000 TO $39,999	30
$40,000 TO $59,999	19
$60,000 AND OVER	9
BY YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED:	
ELEMENTARY: 0 TO 4 YEARS.	5
5 TO 7 YEARS.	121
8 YEARS	352
HIGH SCHOOL: 1 TO 3 YEARS.	221
4 YEARS	466
COLLEGE: 1 TO 3 YEARS.	62
4 YEARS OR MORE	39

SUBJECT	1964
INCOME	
INCOME OF ALL MEMBERS FROM SOURCES OTHER THAN FARM OPERATED:	
ALL SOURCES. . . . HSHLDS.	1 071
DOLLARS.	4 733 632
WAGES AND SALARIES . . . HSHLDS.	740
DOLLARS.	3 680 264
NONFARM BUSINESS OR PROFESSIONAL PRACTICE. . . . HSHLDS.	130
DOLLARS.	355 381
SOCIAL SECURITY, PENSIONS, VETERAN & WELFARE PAYMENTS. HSHLDS.	304
DOLLARS.	369 484
RENT FROM FARM & NONFARM PROPERTY, INTEREST, DIVIDENDS, ETC. . . . HSHLDS.	378
DOLLARS.	328 503
NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS REPORTING INCOME:	
UNDER $500	102
$500 TO $999	51
$1,000 TO $1,499	67
$1,500 TO $1,999	106
$2,000 TO $2,499	33
$2,500 TO $2,999	44
$3,000 TO $3,999	83
$4,000 TO $4,999	161
$5,000 AND OVER.	424
RECREATION INCOME FROM HUNTING, FISHING, AND OTHER RECREATIONAL SERVICES. . . . FARMS.	8
DOLLARS.	10 363

Table 3.--PERSONS IN FARM-OPERATOR HOUSEHOLDS: 1964

(Based on sample)

SUBJECT	1964
Table VIII ALL PERSONS IN FARM-OPERATOR HOUSEHOLDS	
BY SEX AND AGE:	
TOTAL. . . .	4 155
MALE	2 117
FEMALE	2 036
UNDER 5 YEARS. . . .	315
5 TO 9 YEARS	344
10 TO 14 YEARS	463
15 TO 19 YEARS	378
20 TO 24 YEARS	139
25 TO 34 YEARS	340
35 TO 44 YEARS	563
45 TO 54 YEARS	620
55 TO 64 YEARS	532
65 YEARS AND OVER. . . .	462
ALL PERSONS IN FARM-OPERATOR HOUSEHOLDS--CON.	
BY YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED:	
TOTAL, 25 YEARS OLD AND OVER:	
ELEMENTARY: 0 TO 4 YEARS. . . .	15
5 TO 7 YEARS. . . .	176
8 YEARS	598
HIGH SCHOOL: 1 TO 3 YEARS. . . .	400
4 YEARS	1 113
COLLEGE: 1 TO 3 YEARS. . . .	128
4 YEARS OR MORE	87
TOTAL, 25 TO 34 YEARS OLD:	
ELEMENTARY: 0 TO 4 YEARS. . . .	-
5 TO 7 YEARS. . . .	-
8 YEARS	7
HIGH SCHOOL: 1 TO 3 YEARS. . . .	91
4 YEARS	212
COLLEGE: 1 TO 3 YEARS. . . .	20
4 YEARS OR MORE	20

Table 4.--LAND IN FARMS, LAND-USE PRACTICES, EQUIPMENT AND FACILITIES, EXPENDITURES, AND HIRED WORKERS: 1964 AND 1959

(All data except those for land in farms by use based on sample. NA denotes data not available; X denotes not applicable)

SUBJECT	1964	1959
Table IX LAND IN FARMS BY USE		
LAND IN FARMS. . . . ACRES.	187 310	176 438
CROPLAND HARVESTED . . . . FARMS.	1 043	1 235
ACRES.	108 113	111 672
FARMS REPORTING: 1 TO 9 ACRES. . . .	121	100
10 TO 19 ACRES. . . .	114	167
20 TO 29 ACRES. . . .	82	128
30 TO 49 ACRES. . . .	131	173
50 TO 99 ACRES. . . .	210	264
100 TO 199 ACRES. . . .	204	256
200 TO 499 ACRES. . . .	172	143
500 ACRES OR MORE . . .	9	4
CROPLAND USED ONLY FOR PASTURE . . FARMS.	348	501
ACRES.	6 811	10 325
CROPLAND NOT HARVESTED AND NOT PASTURED. . . . FARMS.	466	218
ACRES.	12 185	4 264
CULTIVATED SUMMER FALLOW . . . FARMS.	(X)	(X)
ACRES.	(X)	(X)
SOIL-IMPROVEMENT GRASSES AND LEGUMES . . . . FARMS.	342	71
ACRES.	8 692	1 470
CROP FAILURE . . . . FARMS.	21	(NA)
ACRES.	264	(NA)
IDLE CROPLAND. . . . FARMS.	172	(NA)
ACRES.	3 229	(NA)
WOODLAND PASTURED. . . . FARMS.	480	473
ACRES.	14 025	13 019
WOODLAND NOT PASTURED. . . . FARMS.	477	369
ACRES.	17 403	11 817
OTHER PASTURE (NOT CROPLAND AND NOT WOODLAND) . . . . FARMS.	497	409
ACRES.	12 435	9 743
IMPROVED PASTURE . . . . FARMS.	173	67
ACRES.	4 212	1 457
IRRIGATED LAND IN FARMS. . . . FARMS.	1	1
ACRES.	1	5
IRRIGATED CROPLAND HARVESTED . . FARMS.	1	(NA)
ACRES.	1	(NA)
LAND-USE PRACTICES		
CROPLAND USED FOR GRAIN OR ROW CROPS FARMED ON THE CONTOUR . . . FARMS.	42	40
ACRES.	586	1 535
LAND IN STRIPCROPPING SYSTEMS FOR SOIL EROSION CONTROL. . . . FARMS.	15	10
ACRES.	228	200
FARM PONDS, PITS, RESERVOIRS, AND EARTHEN TANKS . . . . FARMS.	378	(NA)
NUMBER.	722	(NA)
ACRES COVERED.	1 027	(NA)
LAND IN CROP DIVERSION PROGRAMS:		
WHEAT. . . . FARMS.	171	(NA)
FEED GRAINS. . . . FARMS.	236	(NA)
Table X SPECIFIED EQUIPMENT AND FACILITIES		
AUTOMOBILES. . . . FARMS.	1 149	1 236
NUMBER.	1 434	1 381
MOTORTRUCKS (INCLUDING PICKUPS). . FARMS.	982	901
NUMBER.	1 222	1 031
TRACTORS . . . . FARMS.	1 125	1 191
NUMBER.	2 658	2 352
TRACTORS OTHER THAN GARDEN AND MOTOR TILLERS . . . . FARMS.	1 043	1 146
NUMBER.	1 969	1 917
1. . . . FARMS.	427	605
2 OR MORE. . . . FARMS.	616	541
WHEEL TRACTORS . . . . FARMS.	1 043	1 101
NUMBER.	1 932	1 797
CRAWLER TRACTORS . . . . FARMS.	37	115
NUMBER.	37	120
GARDEN TRACTORS & MOTOR TILLERS. FARMS.	619	(NA)
NUMBER.	689	(NA)
SPECIFIED EQUIPMENT AND FACILITIES--CON.		
GRAIN AND BEAN COMBINES. . . . FARMS.	521	591
NUMBER.	547	606
PULL TYPE. . . . FARMS.	349	(NA)
NUMBER.	355	(NA)
SELF-PROPELLED . . . . FARMS.	183	(NA)
NUMBER.	192	(NA)
PICKUP BALERS. . . . FARMS.	168	135
NUMBER.	168	140
HAY CONDITIONERS . . . . FARMS.	47	(NA)
NUMBER.	47	(NA)
CROP DRIERS. . . . FARMS.	93	35
CORNPICKERS. . . . FARMS.	573	711
NUMBER.	611	726
FIELD FORAGE HARVESTERS. . . . FARMS.	33	50
NUMBER.	33	50
CYLINDER OR FLYWHEEL TYPE. . . FARMS.	33	(NA)
NUMBER.	33	(NA)
FLAIL TYPE . . . . FARMS.	-	(NA)
NUMBER.	-	(NA)
TELEPHONE. . . . FARMS.	1 179	1 246
TELEVISION SET . . . . FARMS.	1 226	(NA)
HOME FREEZER . . . . FARMS.	1 102	1 055
MILKING MACHINE. . . . FARMS.	65	150
BULK MILK TANK . . . . FARMS.	29	(NA)
SPECIFIED FARM EXPENDITURES AND HIRED WORKERS		
ANY SPECIFIED FARM EXPENDITURES. . FARMS.	1 259	1 376
FEED FOR LIVESTOCK & POULTRY . . FARMS.	938	1 101
DOLLARS.	957 028	1 001 648
FEED GRAINS. . . . FARMS.	381	(NA)
DOLLARS.	205 987	(NA)
COMMERCIALLY MIXED FEEDS, MILLFEEDS, & SUPPLEMENTS. . . FARMS.	784	(NA)
TONS.	7 608	(NA)
DOLLARS.	689 334	(NA)
HAY AND OTHER ROUGHAGE . . . FARMS.	325	(NA)
DOLLARS.	61 707	(NA)
PURCHASE OF LIVESTOCK AND POULTRY . . . . FARMS.	532	631
DOLLARS.	334 614	324 115
CATTLE, CALVES, HOGS, PIGS, SHEEP, & OTHER LIVESTOCK. . . FARMS.	393	(NA)
DOLLARS.	308 875	(NA)
POULTRY. . . . FARMS.	246	(NA)
DOLLARS.	25 739	(NA)
SEEDS, BULBS, PLANTS, ETC. . . . FARMS.	1 079	861
DOLLARS.	260 052	143 606
FERTILIZER AND FERTILIZING MATERIALS . . . . FARMS.	949	(NA)
DOLLARS.	1 014 951	(NA)
GASOLINE & OTHER PETROLEUM FUEL & OIL FOR THE FARM BUSINESS . . FARMS.	1 088	1 321
DOLLARS.	616 399	560 863
GASOLINE . . . . FARMS.	1 085	(NA)
DOLLARS.	500 763	(NA)
DIESEL OIL . . . . FARMS.	115	(NA)
DOLLARS.	35 134	(NA)
LP GAS, BUTANE, & PROPANE. . . FARMS.	64	(NA)
DOLLARS.	14 803	(NA)
OTHER PETROLEUM FUELS AND PRODUCTS. . . . FARMS.	1 044	(NA)
DOLLARS.	65 699	(NA)
MACHINE HIRE, CUSTOM AND CONTRACT WORK . . . . FARMS.	684	701
DOLLARS.	209 509	170 335
HIRED LABOR. . . . FARMS.	490	451
DOLLARS.	277 443	182 626
REGULAR HIRED WORKERS (EMPLOYED 150 DAYS OR MORE) . . . . FARMS.	71	25
WORKERS.	94	25

Table 5.--USE OF AGRICULTURAL CHEMICALS ON CROPS: 1964 AND 1959

(Based on sample. NA denotes data not available; X denotes not applicable)

SUBJECT	1964	1959
COMMERCIAL FERTILIZER AND FERTILIZING MATERIALS		
FARMS REPORTING USE DURING YEAR	916	1 101
HAY AND CROPLAND PASTURE	164	150
OTHER PASTURE	57	50
CORN	813	1 031
SOYBEANS	314	251
WHEAT	650	720
ALL OTHER CROPS	53	115
ACRES ON WHICH USED	76 339	74 810
HAY AND CROPLAND PASTURE	2 381	3 155
OTHER PASTURE	1 093	1 015
CORN	41 210	46 058
SOYBEANS	11 866	6 892
WHEAT	18 730	16 130
ALL OTHER CROPS	1 059	1 560
AMOUNTS USED (TONS):		
DRY MATERIALS:		
HAY AND CROPLAND PASTURE	335	374
OTHER PASTURE	109	82
CORN	6 791	5 690
SOYBEANS	945	540
WHEAT	2 402	1 685
ALL OTHER CROPS	183	153
LIQUID MATERIALS:		
HAY AND CROPLAND PASTURE	-	3
OTHER PASTURE	-	-
CORN	1 375	347
SOYBEANS	-	14
WHEAT	118	26
ALL OTHER CROPS	24	14
LIME OR LIMING MATERIALS		
FARMS REPORTING	381	410
ACRES LIMED	9 807	8 940
TONS USED	23 475	22 525
SPRAYS, DUSTS, ETC.		
CROPS TREATED DURING YEAR FOR CONTROL OF INSECTS AND DISEASE:		
FARMS REPORTING:		
GRAIN CROPS	87	(NA)
ALFALFA, CLOVER, AND OTHER HAY CROPS	-	(NA)
COTTON	(X)	(X)
VEGETABLES GROWN FOR SALE	-	(NA)
FRUITS AND NUTS	9	(NA)
SEED CROPS AND OTHER CROPS	13	(NA)
ACRES TREATED:		
GRAIN CROPS	7 353	(NA)
ALFALFA, CLOVER, AND OTHER HAY CROPS	-	(NA)
COTTON	(X)	(X)
VEGETABLES GROWN FOR SALE	-	(NA)
FRUITS AND NUTS	27	(NA)
SEED CROPS AND OTHER CROPS	454	(NA)
CROPS OR LAND TREATED DURING YEAR FOR CONTROL OF WEEDS, GRASS, OR BRUSH:		
FARMS REPORTING:		
CORN	345	(NA)
COTTON	(X)	(X)
SMALL GRAINS (WHEAT, OATS, RYE, BARLEY, FLAX, ETC.)	10	(NA)
OTHER CROPS	165	(NA)
PASTURELAND AND RANGELAND	10	(NA)
ACRES TREATED:		
CORN	20 349	(NA)
COTTON	(X)	(X)
SMALL GRAINS (WHEAT, OATS, RYE, BARLEY, FLAX, ETC.)	294	(NA)
OTHER CROPS	7 898	(NA)
PASTURELAND AND RANGELAND	232	(NA)
LIVESTOCK TREATED EXTERNALLY FOR CONTROLLING INSECTS:		
FARMS REPORTING:		
CATTLE AND CALVES	151	(NA)
HOGS, SHEEP, AND GOATS	145	(NA)
NUMBER OF HEAD:		
CATTLE AND CALVES	3 587	(NA)
HOGS, SHEEP, AND GOATS	20 230	(NA)

Table 6.--POULTRY AND LIVESTOCK AND THEIR PRODUCTS: 1964 AND 1959

(Data for 1959 on sales of cattle, hogs, sheep, and dairy products based on sample. NA denotes data not available)

Table XI

SUBJECT	1964	1959
POULTRY AND LIVESTOCK ON FARMS		
FARMS REPORTING:		
CHICKENS 4 MONTHS OLD AND OVER	408	716
HENS AND PULLETS OF LAYING AGE	395	(NA)
TURKEY HENS KEPT FOR BREEDING	1	5
CATTLE AND CALVES	840	910
COWS, INCL. HEIFERS THAT HAVE CALVED	678	793
MILK COWS	217	368
HEIFERS AND HEIFER CALVES	659	714
STEERS AND BULLS, INCLUDING CALVES	672	637
HOGS AND PIGS	518	688
USED OR TO BE USED FOR BREEDING	398	(NA)
ALL OTHER	487	(NA)
SHEEP AND LAMBS	89	93
LAMBS UNDER 1 YEAR OLD	60	63
SHEEP 1 YEAR OLD AND OVER	85	85
EWES	85	82
RAMS AND WETHERS	57	65
NUMBER:		
CHICKENS 4 MONTHS OLD AND OVER	60 117	85 587
HENS AND PULLETS OF LAYING AGE	58 511	(NA)
TURKEY HENS KEPT FOR BREEDING	2	17
CATTLE AND CALVES	15 395	13 060
COWS, INCL. HEIFERS THAT HAVE CALVED	6 449	5 795
MILK COWS	2 069	2 404
HEIFERS AND HEIFER CALVES	4 504	4 218
STEERS AND BULLS, INCLUDING CALVES	4 442	3 047
HOGS AND PIGS	33 063	28 421
USED OR TO BE USED FOR BREEDING	4 111	(NA)
ALL OTHER	28 952	(NA)
SHEEP AND LAMBS	1 535	1 769
LAMBS UNDER 1 YEAR OLD	350	507
SHEEP 1 YEAR OLD AND OVER	1 185	1 262
EWES	1 119	1 135
RAMS AND WETHERS	66	127
POULTRY AND LIVESTOCK PRODUCTS		
FARMS REPORTING:		
POULTRY AND POULTRY PRODUCTS SOLD:		
CHICKENS, INCLUDING BROILERS	170	(NA)
BROILERS & OTHER MEAT-TYPE CHICKENS	2	(NA)
HENS & ROOSTERS SOLD FOR SLAUGHTER	168	(NA)
CHICKEN EGGS	262	440
POULTRY AND LIVESTOCK PRODUCTS--CON.		
FARMS REPORTING--CON.		
POULTRY AND POULTRY PRODUCTS SOLD--CON.		
STARTED PULLETS, AND TURKEYS, DUCKS, GEESE, ETC., AND THEIR EGGS	4	(NA)
VALUE OF SALES	$28 365	(NA)
TURKEYS RAISED	5	6
LIVESTOCK SOLD ALIVE & THEIR PRODUCTS:		
CATTLE AND/OR CALVES	642	806
CATTLE, NOT COUNTING CALVES	414	556
FATTENED ON GRAIN AND CONCENTRATES	116	(NA)
CALVES	471	466
FATTENED ON GRAIN AND CONCENTRATES	144	(NA)
HOGS AND PIGS	468	661
SHEEP AND LAMBS	73	80
WOOL SHORN	76	80
FUR-BEARING ANIMALS, HORSES, MULES, GOATS, GOAT MILK, BEES, HONEY, AND OTHER LIVESTOCK PRODUCTS SOLD	26	(NA)
VALUE OF SALES	$7 157	(NA)
DAIRY PRODUCTS SOLD:		
MILK SOLD AS WHOLE MILK	107	210
TO CONSUMERS AND STORES	-	(NA)
CREAM	3	60
NUMBER:		
POULTRY AND POULTRY PRODUCTS SOLD:		
CHICKENS, INCLUDING BROILERS	(D)	(NA)
BROILERS & OTHER MEAT-TYPE CHICKENS	(D)	(NA)
HENS & ROOSTERS SOLD FOR SLAUGHTER	26 012	(NA)
CHICKEN EGGS . . . DOZENS	684 358	683 932
TURKEYS RAISED	14 035	8 971
LIVESTOCK SOLD ALIVE & THEIR PRODUCTS:		
CATTLE, NOT COUNTING CALVES	3 757	4 950
FATTENED ON GRAIN AND CONCENTRATES	2 183	(NA)
CALVES	3 670	2 680
FATTENED ON GRAIN AND CONCENTRATES	1 012	(NA)
HOGS AND PIGS	54 082	40 985
SHEEP AND LAMBS	1 103	755
WOOL SHORN . . . POUNDS	8 805	10 081
DAIRY PRODUCTS SOLD:		
MILK SOLD AS WHOLE MILK . . . POUNDS	15 741 482	16 416 140
TO CONSUMERS AND STORES . . QUARTS	-	(NA)
CREAM . . . . . POUNDS OF BUTTERFAT	1 660	12 905

D DATA WITHHELD TO AVOID DISCLOSURE OF INFORMATION FOR INDIVIDUAL FARMS.

Table 7.--CROPS HARVESTED: 1964 AND 1959

(NA denotes data not available)

Table XII

SUBJECT	1964	1959
CORN FOR--		
ALL PURPOSES:		
FARMS REPORTING.	843	1 093
ACRES.	43 428	44 883
HARVESTED FOR GRAIN:		
FARMS REPORTING.	835	1 091
ACRES.	42 214	44 145
BUSHELS.	3 590 651	3 048 586
SALES:		
FARMS REPORTING.	687	829
BUSHELS.	2 661 868	1 801 588
CUT FOR SILAGE:		
FARMS REPORTING.	64	52
ACRES.	946	539
TONS, GREEN WEIGHT	14 383	7 033
CUT FOR GREEN OR DRY FODDER:		
FARMS REPORTING.	-	(NA)
ACRES.	-	(NA)
HOGGED OR GRAZED:		
FARMS REPORTING.	20	(NA)
ACRES.	268	(NA)
SORGHUMS FOR--		
ALL PURPOSES:		
FARMS REPORTING.	16	16
ACRES.	441	230
HARVESTED FOR GRAIN OR SEED:		
FARMS REPORTING.	8	6
ACRES.	351	142
BUSHELS.	24 980	4 910
SALES:		
FARMS REPORTING.	7	2
BUSHELS.	24 930	4 000
CUT FOR SILAGE:		
FARMS REPORTING.	2	5
ACRES.	11	76
TONS, GREEN WEIGHT	165	859
CUT FOR DRY FORAGE OR HAY:		
FARMS REPORTING.	1	(NA)
ACRES.	18	(NA)
TONS	54	16
HOGGED OR GRAZED:		
FARMS REPORTING.	6	(NA)
ACRES.	57	(NA)
HARVESTED FOR SIRUP:		
FARMS REPORTING.	2	4
ACRES.	4	4
GALLONS.	330	316
SALES:		
FARMS REPORTING.	1	(NA)
GALLONS.	225	224
SOYBEANS:		
HARVESTED FOR BEANS:		
FARMS REPORTING.	822	967
ACRES.	35 252	34 798
BUSHELS.	929 141	931 471
CUT FOR HAY:		
FARMS REPORTING.	23	49
ACRES.	144	402
TONS	206	727
HOGGED OR GRAZED OR CUT FOR SILAGE:		
FARMS REPORTING.	-	1
ACRES.	-	8
SMALL GRAINS HARVESTED:		
WHEAT:		
FARMS REPORTING.	704	792
ACRES.	21 053	17 786
BUSHELS.	698 637	443 269
SALES:		
FARMS REPORTING.	695	749
BUSHELS.	669 951	406 689
OATS FOR GRAIN:		
FARMS REPORTING.	43	173
ACRES.	350	2 061
BUSHELS.	12 359	64 188
SALES:		
FARMS REPORTING.	18	56
BUSHELS.	5 732	23 786
BARLEY FOR GRAIN:		
FARMS REPORTING.	4	39
ACRES.	23	548
BUSHELS.	600	11 010
SALES:		
FARMS REPORTING.	2	14
BUSHELS.	290	3 013
RYE FOR GRAIN:		
FARMS REPORTING.	42	122
ACRES.	344	1 488
BUSHELS.	7 618	25 832
SALES:		
FARMS REPORTING.	31	74
BUSHELS.	5 695	18 163
OTHER GRAINS:		
FARMS REPORTING.	-	2
ACRES.	-	15
BUSHELS.	-	344
SALES:		
FARMS REPORTING.	-	-
BUSHELS.	-	-
HAY CROPS:		
ALFALFA AND ALFALFA MIXTURES CUT FOR HAY AND FOR DEHYDRATING:		
FARMS REPORTING.	186	141
ACRES.	2 551	1 796
TONS	6 443	3 802
SALES:		
FARMS REPORTING.	53	16
TONS	1 674	267
CLOVER, TIMOTHY, AND MIXTURES OF CLOVER AND GRASSES CUT FOR HAY:		
FARMS REPORTING.	276	455
ACRES.	3 996	6 231
TONS	5 984	9 657
SALES:		
FARMS REPORTING.	49	78
TONS	1 324	1 271
LESPEDEZA CUT FOR HAY:		
FARMS REPORTING.	7	10
ACRES.	116	150
TONS	163	239
SALES:		
FARMS REPORTING.	1	4
TONS	5	122
OATS, WHEAT, BARLEY, RYE, OR OTHER SMALL GRAINS CUT FOR HAY:		
FARMS REPORTING.	9	13
ACRES.	49	118
TONS	69	151
SALES:		
FARMS REPORTING.	-	1
TONS	-	6
OTHER HAY CUT:		
FARMS REPORTING.	27	23
ACRES.	394	346
TONS	445	527
SALES:		
FARMS REPORTING.	4	2
TONS	100	22
GRASS SILAGE MADE FROM GRASSES, ALFALFA, CLOVER, OR SMALL GRAINS:		
FARMS REPORTING.	10	12
ACRES.	288	230
TONS, GREEN WEIGHT	2 654	1 689
SALES:		
FARMS REPORTING.	1	(NA)
TONS, GREEN WEIGHT	45	(NA)
FIELD SEED CROPS HARVESTED:		
RED CLOVER SEED:		
FARMS REPORTING.	74	160
ACRES.	794	2 073
POUNDS	65 342	134 340
LESPEDEZA SEED:		
FARMS REPORTING.	-	1
ACRES.	-	8
POUNDS	-	800
TIMOTHY SEED:		
FARMS REPORTING.	1	3
ACRES.	10	21
POUNDS	1 850	2 475
OTHER FIELD CROPS HARVESTED:		
IRISH POTATOES FOR HOME USE OR SALE:		
FARMS REPORTING.	95	42
ACRES.	2	(Z)
HUNDREDWEIGHT.	450	276
SWEETPOTATOES FOR HOME USE OR SALE:		
FARMS REPORTING.	44	22
ACRES.	-	1
BUSHELS.	103	95
TOBACCO:		
FARMS REPORTING.	-	1
ACRES.	-	2
POUNDS	-	2 600
POPCORN:		
FARMS REPORTING.	7	6
ACRES.	119	15
POUNDS, EAR CORN	315 890	41 880
VEGETABLES FOR SALE (OTHER THAN IRISH AND SWEET POTATOES):		
VEGETABLES HARVESTED FOR SALE:		
FARMS REPORTING.	4	6
ACRES.	5	19
SALES.	$1 173	$2 322
TOMATOES:		
FARMS REPORTING.	2	6
ACRES.	(Z)	3
SWEET CORN:		
FARMS REPORTING.	2	6
ACRES.	3	13
CUCUMBERS AND PICKLES:		
FARMS REPORTING.	-	3
ACRES.	-	(Z)
SNAP BEANS (BUSH AND POLE TYPES):		
FARMS REPORTING.	-	5
ACRES.	-	2
WATERMELONS:		
FARMS REPORTING.	-	-
ACRES.	-	-

Z REPORTED IN SMALL FRACTIONS.

Table 7.--CROPS HARVESTED: 1964 AND 1959--Continued

(NA denotes data not available)

Table XII Cont.

SUBJECT	1964	1959
VEGETABLES FOR SALE (OTHER THAN IRISH AND SWEET POTATOES)--CON.		
CABBAGE:		
FARMS REPORTING.	1	3
ACRES.	(Z)	(Z)
CANTALOUPS AND MUSKMELONS:		
FARMS REPORTING.	-	-
ACRES.	-	-
GREEN PEAS:		
FARMS REPORTING.	-	1
ACRES.	-	(Z)
GREEN LIMA BEANS:		
FARMS REPORTING.	-	-
ACRES.	-	-
VEGETABLES FOR SALE (OTHER THAN IRISH AND SWEET POTATOES)--CON.		
DRY ONIONS:		
FARMS REPORTING.	2	2
ACRES.	1	1
ASPARAGUS:		
FARMS REPORTING.	-	-
ACRES.	-	-
BERRIES HARVESTED FOR SALE:		
STRAWBERRIES:		
FARMS REPORTING.	3	11
ACRES.	(Z)	2
QUARTS	276	2 130

Z REPORTED IN SMALL FRACTIONS.

Table 8.--TREE FRUITS, NUTS, AND GRAPES; NURSERY AND GREENHOUSE PRODUCTS; AND FOREST PRODUCTS: 1964 AND 1959

(NA denotes data not available)

Table XII Cont.

SUBJECT	1964	1959
TREE FRUITS, NUTS, AND GRAPES:		
LAND IN BEARING AND NONBEARING FRUIT ORCHARDS, GROVES, VINEYARDS, AND PLANTED NUT TREES:		
FARMS REPORTING.	12	26
ACRES.	142	258
APPLES:		
FARMS REPORTING.	14	26
NUMBER:		
TREES OF ALL AGES.	5 193	6 904
TREES NOT OF BEARING AGE	146	690
TREES OF BEARING AGE	5 047	6 214
QUANTITY HARVESTED . . . . POUNDS.	1 809 900	1 449 792
PEACHES:		
FARMS REPORTING.	7	16
NUMBER:		
TREES OF ALL AGES.	1 485	8 568
TREES NOT OF BEARING AGE	1	249
TREES OF BEARING AGE	1 484	8 319
QUANTITY HARVESTED . . . .BUSHELS.	3 077	2
PEARS:		
FARMS REPORTING.	3	11
NUMBER:		
TREES OF ALL AGES.	8	67
TREES NOT OF BEARING AGE	-	24
TREES OF BEARING AGE	8	43
QUANTITY HARVESTED . . . .BUSHELS.	10	23
GRAPES:		
FARMS REPORTING.	6	11
NUMBER:		
VINES OF ALL AGES.	117	49
VINES NOT OF BEARING AGE	-	8
VINES OF BEARING AGE	117	41
QUANTITY HARVESTED . . . . POUNDS.	660	290
PLUMS AND PRUNES:		
FARMS REPORTING.	3	7
NUMBER:		
TREES OF ALL AGES.	21	29
TREES NOT OF BEARING AGE	-	2
TREES OF BEARING AGE	21	27
QUANTITY HARVESTED . . . .BUSHELS.	17	8
CHERRIES:		
FARMS REPORTING.	4	9
NUMBER:		
TREES OF ALL AGES.	20	63
TREES NOT OF BEARING AGE	-	5
TREES OF BEARING AGE	20	58
QUANTITY HARVESTED . . . . POUNDS.	145	26
NURSERY AND GREENHOUSE PRODUCTS, FLOWERS, VEGETABLE SEEDS AND PLANTS, AND BULBS, GROWN FOR SALE:		
FARMS REPORTING.	6	8
SALES.	$23 375	$16 950
NURSERY PRODUCTS (TREES, SHRUBS, VINES, ORNAMENTALS, ETC.):		
FARMS REPORTING.	1	1
ACRES.	1	4
SALES.	$300	$3 329
NURSERY AND GREENHOUSE PRODUCTS, FLOWERS, VEGETABLE SEEDS AND PLANTS, AND BULBS, GROWN FOR SALE--CON.		
CUT FLOWERS, POTTED PLANTS, FLORIST GREENS, AND BEDDING PLANTS:		
FARMS REPORTING.	5	6
SALES.	$19 175	$12 211
GROWN UNDER GLASS OR OTHER PROTECTION:		
FARMS REPORTING.	5	6
SQUARE FEET.	25 620	27 554
GROWN IN THE OPEN:		
FARMS REPORTING.	1	1
ACRES.	(Z)	600
VEGETABLES GROWN UNDER GLASS, FLOWER SEEDS, VEGETABLE SEEDS AND PLANTS, BULBS, AND MUSHROOMS:		
FARMS REPORTING.	3	4
SALES.	$3 900	$1 410
GROWN UNDER GLASS OR OTHER PROTECTION:		
FARMS REPORTING.	2	4
SQUARE FEET.	5 370	4 725
GROWN IN THE OPEN:		
FARMS REPORTING.	1	-
ACRES.	(Z)	-
FOREST PRODUCTS:		
FARMS REPORTING ANY PRODUCTS CUT AND/OR SOLD.	66	49
SALES OF FOREST PRODUCTS:		
FARMS REPORTING.	45	26
AMOUNT	$19 270	$7 206
STANDING TIMBER:		
FARMS REPORTING.	38	16
AMOUNT	$16 928	$6 052
FIREWOOD, FENCE POSTS, SAWLOGS, VENEER LOGS, AND CHRISTMAS TREES:		
FARMS REPORTING.	9	6
AMOUNT	$2 342	$634
OTHER MISCELLANEOUS PRODUCTS:		
FARMS REPORTING.	-	4
AMOUNT	-	$520
FIREWOOD AND FUELWOOD CUT:		
FARMS REPORTING.	21	17
CORDS (4'X4'X8')	255	203
SALES:		
FARMS REPORTING.	2	4
CORDS (4'X4'X8')	74	36
FENCE POSTS CUT:		
FARMS REPORTING.	13	21
NUMBER	1 465	1 916
SALES:		
FARMS REPORTING.	1	1
NUMBER	100	75
SAWLOGS AND VENEER LOGS CUT:		
FARMS REPORTING.	5	6
THOUSANDS OF BOARD FEET.	31	10
SALES:		
FARMS REPORTING.	2	1
THOUSANDS OF BOARD FEET.	9	4
CHRISTMAS TREES SOLD:		
FARMS REPORTING.	4	-
NUMBER	476	-

Z REPORTED IN SMALL FRACTIONS.

APPENDIX C

Table I - Where Respondent Buys Food

	Not Buy	Ashboro	Bowling Green	Center Point	Cory	Brazil	Terre Haute	Indianapolis	Within 15 Miles	Over 15 Miles
Frequency	0	3	12	46	64	8	87	57	0	20
Percent	0.00	1.01	4.04	15.49	21.55	2.69	29.29	19.19	0.00	6.73

Table II - Where Respondent Buys Clothing

Frequency	0	1	0	0	1	0	78	201	1	6
Percent	0.00	0.35	0.00	0.00	0.35	0.00	27.08	69.79	0.35	2.08

Table III - Where Respondent Buys Appliances and other Machinery

Frequency	0	10	1	10	9	1	89	119	1	39
Percent	0.00	3.58	0.36	3.58	3.23	0.36	31.90	42.65	0.36	13.98

*** Source of Data -- Coffin Questionnaire Data

Appendix C (Continued)

Table IV - Number of Retail Establishments and Sales

	Establishments		Sales	
	Total (Number)	With Payroll (Number)	Total all Establishments ($ 1,000)	Establishments with payroll ($ 1,000)
Indiana	43,261	32,214	6,475,730	6,244,950
Clay County	290	202	25,860	24,240
Urban	170	132	19,152	18,396
Rural	120	70	6,708	5,844

Table V - Total Payroll, Number of Employees and Active Proprietors

	Payroll Entire Year ($ 1,000)	Payroll Workweek ended Nearest Nov. 15 (Dollars)	Paid Employees Workweek ended Nearest Nov. 15 (Number)	Active Proprietors of Unincorporated Businesses. (Number)
Indiana	710,302	14,161,939	223,451	39,688
Clay County	2,804	40,375	788	301
Urban	1,649	31,946	579	172
Rural	435	8,429	209	129

Appendix C (Continued)

Table VI - Retail Establishments and Sales by Business Group

	Number ($1,000)	Indiana	Clay Co.	Urban	Rural
1. Lumber, Hardware Building Materials Farm Equipment	Estab.	3,177	24	13	11
	Sales	470,486	2,484	1,213	1,271
2. General Merchandise Group Stores	Estab.	1,466	14	5	9
	Sales	777,273	2,115	1,182	933
3. Food Stores	Estab.	6,551	64	32	32
	Sales	1,401,523	5,973	4,723	1,250
4. Automobile Dealers	Estab.	2,836	13	9	4
	Sales	1,229,820	6,496	- Withheld -	
5. Drug and Proprietary Stores	Estab.	1,427	11	6	5
	Sales	237,480	1,010	859	151
6. Gasoline Service Stations	Estab.	6,127	34	23	11
	Sales	529,101	2,100	1,618	419
7. Apparel and Accessory Stores	Estab.	2,563	13	11	2
	Sales	303,187	756	- Withheld -	
8. Furniture, Home Furnishings	Estab.	2,593	15	8	7
	Sales	270,818	624	430	194
9. Eating, Drinking Places.	Estab.	8,017	38	24	14
	Sales	449,822	1,437	1,095	342
10. Other Retail Stores.	Estab.	6,446	51	33	18
	Sales	550,052	2,800	1,712	1,088
11. Non-store Retailers.	Estab.	2,059	13	6	7
	Sales	186,168	65	22	43

*** Under U.S. Census definitions only Brazil is considered as being urban. Thus, the rural category includes the rest of Clay County including the Townsite. This is the data closest to covering the Townsite area that is available.

**** Source of Data for tables IV,V, VI.
U.S. Census of Retail Trade, Volume 16 - Indiana, 1963

Appendix D

Table 1 -- Summary on Educational Facilities

The educational facilities available to the residents of the Townsite are in general of average quality. There are three grade schools and one high school in the Townsite area. In Ashboro and Bowling Green there is a grade school for grades one to six. In Cory, there is a grade school for one to eight years and a high school. Besides these grade schools and single high school, the residents also have access to the other three high schools in Clay county -- one in Clay city and two in Brazil.

From an interview with the county superintendent of schools, the quality of the physical facilities available in the schools in the Townsite is from poor to adequate. The grade schools were built in the 1930's and have not been remodeled since. Further, there are no present plans for building new or remodeling old schools in the county for the next several years. Also, there are tentative plans to close down the high school in Cory and bus all students to the high school at Clay city or the two schools at Brazil.

This present situation is likely to remain stable. While a one-unit school re-organization plan was passed by the county in 1965; there are presently several pending injunctions to block establishment of the one-unit plan. However, if the one-unit plan is finally accepted as valid, the plan provides for first establishing an interim board for a period of 22 months. It is seen by both sides of the one-unit school plan that this board would make no changes in present policy or plans.

Table II -- Summary on Water Supplies

At present, all water used by all homes and businesses comes from wells or cisterns. Sources of ground water in the Townsite are from three areas: 1) the southern third of the Townsite area has production from unconsolidated deposits. This is water from sand and gravel of Pleistocene age overlain by Pleistecene lake sediments or recent alluvium. Well depths range from 60 to 160 feet. Yields are more than adequate for domestic and stock use. This source can be used for municipal pumpage and has relatively large yields. 2) Around the towns of Center Point, Cory and Bowling Green, water production is from bedrock. Water here comes from sandstone of Pennsylvanian age. Well depths range from 20 to 440 feet. Yield is generally adequate for domestic and stock use and locally for small industrial and municipal supplies. 3) Water from sand and gravel lenses and stringers interbedded with till and/or lake sediments in pre-Pleistocene stream channels. Well depths range from 25 to 110 feet. Yields from the sand and gravel are generally adequate for domestic, stock and locally for small industrial use.

The third area is the type of source to be used for the Center Point municipal water supply. Available water supplies meet all the public health and state regulations. The main problem with the water is its hardness -- most of the area water is over a hardness of 60 parts per million.

Besides this ground water, there is some surface water in the form of small ponds and lakes formed in areas of previous strip mining. The main concentration of these water deposits is in the central part of the county along state highway 46.

APPENDIX E

Table I - Location of Job

	Not Moved	Ashboro	Bowling Green	Center Point	Cory	Brazil	Terre Haute	Indianapolis	Within 15 miles	Over 15 Miles
Frequency	0	198	116	45	55	16	35	37	4	29
Percent	0.00	37.01	21.68	8.41	10.28	2.99	6.54	6.92	0.75	5.42

Table II - Type of Job

	Not Working	Farm	Manufacture	Construction	Mining	Retail	Teaching	Religious	Clerk	Other
Frequency	0	90	77	59	17	22	44	35	4	41
Percent	0.00	23.14	19.79	15.17	4.37	5.66	11.31	9.00	1.03	10.54

Table IV - Frequency of Use of General store, Department or Hardware stores, Small Grocery Store and Supermarket.

Shop In	General Store	Department or Hardware Store	Small Grocery Store	Supermarket
Frequency	55	55	56	97
Percent	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Appendix F

Summary on Mineral Resources in the Townsite

The primary mineral resources of the Townsite area are coal and clay which are also the only ones with any present commercial use. The latest data on coal and clay was from 1955 but all the mines listed then still appear to be operating. As of 1955, there were 12 active strip coal mines in the Townsite area.

Coal produced in Indiana for commercial uses is of 11 types. Listed from lowest to highest location in the earth, they are Lower Block, Upper Block, Minshall, Coals II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, Lower Millersburg and Upper Millersburg. Of the coal mined in the Townsite area, 8 mines produce Upper Block, 2 type II, 1 type IV and 1 Lower Block. All 12 mines were and are strip mines with an overburden of earth from 10 feet up to 80 feet.

Other interesting features of coal production in the Townsite is summarized in the tables which follow. In 1955, there were 253 employees for these strip mines. Nine of the mines sold at least part of their output to manufacturers or electric utilities and only three produced coal for primarily domestic use.

Summary on Transportation

The transportation facilities available to the Townsite are adequate for its present level of use. There is no regular train or bus service to the Townsite area. There is, however, a regular truck line service to the towns. Thus, the main mode of transportation is private automobile and truck usage. With the great dependence upon private modes of transportation, its quality depends greatly on the highways available.

The highways available at present are adequate for the present needs. To the east and west, between Bloomington and Terre Haute, there is state highway 46. To the north and south, between Brazil and Clay city, there is state highway 59. In the future, Interstate highway 70 is scheduled to cross highway 59 about 5 miles north of the junction of 59 and 46. This will provide better access to the east and west, to Indianapolis and Terre Haute.

The commercial use of transportation facilities is as limited as the commercial activities in the Townsite. The primary commercial activity is the transportation of livestock and crops by local farmers to markets in Terre Haute and Indianapolis and the hauling of coal and clay from the local strip mines.

Summary on Wholesale Trade

Wholesale Trade, as indicated in Tables 1 to 3, is a minor aspect of the economic base of the Townsite. When one looks at the U. S. Census data for the Terre Haute SMSA, which consists of Clay, Sullivan, Vermillion and Vigo counties, one can see the relative unimportance of the Townsite in wholesale trade. For instance, there are 283 establishments in the SMSA with only 39 in Clay county and 23 of those in Brazil. Out of total sales of $180,454 ($1,000), only $14,063 ($1,000) were in Clay county. And so on. Thus, the retail stores in the Townsite have to depend primarily on wholesalers in either Brazil or Terre Haute.

Appendix I

The Research Instrument

The following is a study of what the general public thinks and feels about a number of important social and personal questions. The best answer to each statement below is your personal opinion. We have tried to cover many different and opposing points of view; you may find yourself agreeing with some of the statements, disagreeing with others. Whether you agree or disagree with any statement, you can be sure that many people feel the same as you do. If you agree with a statement mark "yes"; if you disagree mark "no"; please mark every statement.

1. A book that contains wrong political views cannot be a good book and does not deserve to be published.
2. When it comes to the things that count most, all races are certainly not equal.
3. Just as is true of fine race horses, some breeds of people are just naturally better than others.
4. We have to teach children that all men are created equal but almost everyone knows that some are better than others.
5. A man should not be allowed to speak if he doesn't know what he is talking about.
6. I usually have confidence that the government will do what is right.
7. People who hate our way of life should still have a chance to talk and be heard.

8. All politics is controlled by political bosses.

9. Most politicians are looking out for themselves above all else.

10. The government ought to make sure that everyone has a good standard of living.

11. Both major parties in this country are controlled by the wealthy and are run for their benefit.

12. The true American way of life is disappearing so fast that we may have to use force to save it.

13. Most politicians don't seem to me to really mean what they say.

14. Nobody has a right to tell another person what he should and should not read.

15. I don't mind a politician's methods if he manages to get the right things done.

16. I believe in free speech for all no matter what their views might be.

17. We might as well make up our minds that in order to make the world better a lot of innocent people will have to suffer.

18. There is practically no connection between what a politician says and what he will do once he gets elected.

19. I think the government should give a person work if he can't find another job.

20. In dealing with dangerous enemies like the Communists, we can't afford to depend on the courts, the laws and their slow and unreliable methods.

Let's take a change of pace, and try some different questions. If you agree with the statement, mark "yes'; if you disagree, mark "no"; if you are not sure, mark "Don't know."

Now, I should like to ask you some questions about a man who admits he is a Communist.

21. Suppose this admitted Communist wants to make a speech in your community. Should he be allowed to speak, or not?
22. Suppose he wrote a book that is in your public (or school) library. Somebody in your community suggests the book should be removed from the library. Would you favor removing it, or not?
23. Suppose this admitted Communist is a radio (or TV) singer. Should he be fired, or not?
24. Should an admitted Communist be put in jail, or not?

    There are always some people whose ideas are considered bad or dangerous by other people. For instance, somebody who is against all churches and religion.
25. If such a person wanted to make a speech in your community against churches and religion, should he be allowed to speak,or not?
26. If some people in your community suggested that a book he wrote against churches and religion should be taken out of your public (or school) library, would you favor removing this book,or not?
27. Now suppose the radio (or TV) program he (an admitted Communist) is on advertises a brand of soap. Somebody in your community suggests you stop buying that soap. Would you stop, or not?

    Or consider a person who favored government ownership of all the railroads and all big industries.

28. If this person wanted to make a speech in your community favoring government ownership of all the railroads and big industries, should he be allowed to speak, or not?

29. If some people in your community suggested that a book he wrote favoring government ownership should be taken out of your public (or school) library, would you favor removing the book, or not?

Now I would like you to think of another person. A man whose loyalty has been questioned before a Congressional committee, but who swears under oath he has never been a Communist.

30. Suppose he is teaching in a college or university. Should he be fired, or not?

31. Should he be allowed to make a speech in your community, or not?

32. Suppose this man is a high school teacher. Should he be fired, or not?

33. Suppose he (the man whose loyalty has been questioned but who swears he is not a Communist) has been working in a defense plant. Should he be fired, or not?

34. Suppose he is a clerk in a store. Should he be fired, or not?

35. Suppose he wrote a book that is in your public (or school) library. Somebody in your community suggests the book should be removed from the library. Would you favor removing it, or not?

Let's change again back to the original type of questions, where you mark either "yes" or "no."

36. It is all right to get around the law if you don't actually break it.

37. Any person who hides behind the laws when he is questioned about his activities doesn't deserve much consideration.

38. A poor man doesn't have the chance he deserves in the law courts.

39. Every person should have a good house, even if the government has to build it for him.

40. The laws of this country are supposed to benefit all of us equally, but the fact is that they're almost all "richman's" laws.

41. Most political parties care only about winning elections and nothing more.

42. Politicians have to cut a few corners if they are going to get anywhere.

43. No matter what a person's political beliefs are, he is entitled to the same legal rights and protections as anyone else.

44. The majority has the right to abolish minorities if it wants to.

45. Regardless of what some people say, there are certain races in the world that just won't mix with Americans.

46. It seems to me that whoever you vote for, things go on pretty much the same.

47. No matter what the people think, a few people will always run things anyway.

48. Unless there is freedom for many points of view to be presented, there is little chance that the truth can ever be known.

49. I feel that my political leaders hardly care what people like myself think or want.

50. There are times when it almost seems better for the people to take the law into their own hands rather than wait for the machinery of government to act.

51. Many politicians are bought off by some private interest.

52. People ought to be allowed to vote even if they can't do so intelligently.

53. You can't really be sure whether an opinion is true or not unless people are free to argue against it.

54. Most politicians can be trusted to do what they think is best for the country.

55. Political parties are so big that the average member hasn't got much to say about what goes on.

Finally, let's try a brand new type of question. Here is a scale marked from zero to seven, from "worst" to "best." After I have read the statement, please figure out what number you think is the correct score or rank and mark it down.

56. How does America compare with all other possible ways of life, real or imaginary, as a way of life?

57. How does your hometown way of life compare with other ways of living, real or imaginary?

58. How does the government of America compare with others forms of government, real or imaginary?

59. How does the government of your hometown compare with other forms of government, real or imaginary?

Appendix J

Average Mean Agreement of Each Group
for Each McClosky Topic

Topic	Center Point	Cory
	n = 12	n = 10
1. Rules of the Game	.4375	.3125
2. Free Speech	.9025	.8125
3. Procedural Rights	.3125	.425
4. Equality	.464	.4285
5. Cynicism	.4235	.3416
6. Political Futility	.4723	.233
7. Av. Mean for topics 1, 4, 5 6	.4493	.3289

Appendix K

The Research Instrument

VARIABLE	INCORPORATED QUESTION NUMBERS
1 (government interest)	Questions 1, 4, 2
2 (political participation)	Questions 3, 5, 6
3 (taxation)	Questions 12, 13, 14
4 (comprehensive 1)	Questions 18, 19, 20, 21, 22
5 (comprehensive 5)	Questions 23, 24, 25, 26, 27

SECTION I

1. To what degree are you interested and concerned with governmental and political issues?
   a. Very high degree
   b. High degree
   c. Moderate degree
   d. Not very concerned
   e. None ______ 1

2. In what way does your interst or concern most show itself of the choices enumerated below?
   a. Attendance to large informative gatherings either of an informally or formally organized nature.
   b. Through conversations with friends and associates.
   c. Through the mass news media such as radio and television.
   d. Do not make any such attempts. ______ 2

3. With regard to political elections, do you most?
   a. Attend political rallies.
   b. Contribute financial aid.
   c. Campaign door to door for your party.
   d. Vote consistently for the party of your choice.
   e. Do very little or nothing in the way of supporting a political party. ______ 3

4. To what degree do you agree or disagree that individuals should express their opinions on governmental and political issues to their various representatives?
   a. Strongly agree
   b. Agree
   c. No opinion
   d. Disagree
   e. Strongly disagree ______ 4

5. Is it true that most issues confronting us are too complex for the average man to understand what is going on?
   a. Always
   b. Usually
   c. Sometimes
   d. Not very often
   e. Never ______ 5

6. In what way do you most go about trying to understand these sorts of issues?
   a. Attendance to large informative gatherings either of an informally or formally organized nature.
   b. Through conversations with friends and associates.
   c. Through the mass news media such as radio and television. ______ 6
   d. Do not make any such attempts.

7. Disregarded.

8. Of the alternatives listed below, which do you most consider to be your governmental representative?
   a. Federal senator.
   b. Federal congressman.
   c. State senator.
   d. State congressman.
   e. County officials.
   f. Local officials. ____ 8

SECTION II

Below there are three situations described, each of which is followed by a limited number of questions. Please indicate the appropriate alternatives which best describes or represents your feelings to that question.

SITUATION ONE: One of the influential leaders in your community has just completed a tour through the state and other parts of the midwest. His *purpose was to reduce the restriction placed on agricultural farmers by the federal government*. His arguments included such ideas as: "Farmers do not want to be shackled by governmental restrictions"; that "His and other communities are capable of deciding upon how much corn to plant"; and others.

9. How would you react to the actions of that community member?
   a. Totally support.
   b. React favorably.
   c. Mixed feelings.
   d. React unfavorably.
   e. Totally oppose. ____ 9

10. Of the alternatives listed below, which most appropriately describes your reasons for your particular reaction in Question 9?
   a. I think a great deal and respect the opinions of others.
   b. I think one man, if he is well-enough informed, should be able to represent me and my neighbors on most issues.
   c. I like to follow the opinions expressed by recognized community leaders, but I only usually do this when their opinion more or less agrees with my own.
   d. I don't like people to represent me or my neighbors without their first consulting those whom they are representing. ____ 10

11. To what degree do you agree or disagree with the purpose proposed in this situation?
   a. Strongly agree.
   b. Agree
   c. No opinion.
   d. Disagree
   e. Strongly disagree. ____ 11

SITUATION TWO: The majority of your fellow community members have said they are sick and tired of paying exhorbitant taxes that are being demanded against you and them. Since they have already tried, but failed, to dispose of various "unnecessary" taxes, they have started a movement to raise general taxes on high incomes, and to reduce, therefore, taxes on lower incomes. This way, they say, they and you will not have to pay as great an income tax.

12. To what degree do you support or oppose this idea?
    a. Strongly agree.
    b. Agree
    c. No opinion.
    d. Disagree
    e. Strongly disagree.

____ 12

13. To what degree do you favor or oppose the method used by the community?
    a. Strongly agree.
    b. Agree
    c. No opinion.
    d. Disagree
    e. Strongly disagree.

____ 13

14. Of the alternatives listed below, which most closely represents your feelings on the idea described here?
    a. I completely agree with it.
    b. I generally agree with the idea, but would propose some other remedy than is described here.
    c. I agree with the idea and would express my agreement with it.
    d. I disagree with the idea and would express my disagreement to it.
    e. I generally disagree with the idea, but I like the method described for correcting it.
    f. I am completely opposed to the idea.

____ 14

SITUATION THREE: In your community a Puerto Rican family has jus moved to town to establish a home and raise a family. They moved here in response to ads placed in various newspapers to secure help in planting and harvesting various agricultural crops. However, even though his services are needed, the town is split over whether to accept or reject he and his family. You personally, are in need of his help, but you have not committed yourself to either one side or the other of community opinion.

15. What are you going to do?
    a. Make it unpleasant for him because you don't think he belongs in your community.
    b. Welcome him.
    c. Remain uncommitted in your opinion.

____ 15

16. What are you going to do?
- a. Hire him for reasons of community pressure.
- b. Hire him because you picked the right side of community opinion.
- c. Hire him for personal reasons.
- d. Not hire him for reasons of community pressure.
- e. Not hire him because you picked the right side of community's opinion.
- f. Not hire him for personal reasons.

____ 16

17. Disregarded.

SECTION III

18. Is it true what they say that government is getting too involved in the affairs of private individuals?
a. Yes b. No ____ 18

19. Is it true that individuals are being cheated out of their right of freedom of speech?
a. Yes b. No ____ 19

20. Is it true that people should be taxed more heavily than they are now?
a. Yes b. No ____ 20

21. Do you believe that government should guarantee a university education to anyone who has the ability and the desire?
a. Yes b. No ____ 21

22. Is it true that the government is getting Socialistic?
- a. Yes
- b. No

____ 22

SECTION IV

To what degree do you agree or disagree with the following statements? The alternatives for each of the questions are:
- a. Strongly agree.
- b. Agree
- c. No opinion.
- d. Disagree
- e. Strongly disagree.

23. Not all religious, racial, and national groups possess the same abilities and capacities. ____ 23

24. Free medical and dental care should, regardless of age, be extended to those who cannot really afford to pay for it. ____ 24

25. No one can be complete without absolute faith in God. ____ 25

26. The nationalization of great industries would be good. ____ 26

27. The only way to celebrate the 4th of July is, if it is possible to hang out the American Flag and attend a public demonstration. ____ 27

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION

APPENDIX L

The town board has before it a plan which would bring a natural gas line into Center Point. A vote will be taken on the plan at the board's next meeting.

How would you feel toward ______________________________ if he did each of the following in response to this situation. (Indicate how you would feel toward him by placing a mark through the line below each action. The distance from either end of the line indicates how strongly you approve or disapprove of him for taking that action.) Please keep in mind at all times the person whom you are considering.

1. If he refused to talk to or associate with anyone who opposed the plan for the natural gas line.

Approve | Neutral | Disapprove

2. If he formed a committee to support the plan.

Approve | Neutral | Disapprove

3. If he publicly stated, as in a speech to a local organization, that he supported the plan.

Approve | Neutral | Disapprove

4. If he told his friends and those who asked him that he supported the plan but made no public statement.

Approve | Neutral | Disapprove

5. If he privately supported the plan for the natural gas line but spoke of his support only in private and confidential conversation with his closest friends.

Approve | Neutral | Disapprove

6. If he remained neutral.

Approve | Neutral | Disapprove

7. If he privately opposed the plan but spoke of his opposition only in private and confidential conversation with his closest friends.

Approve | Neutral | Disapprove

8. If he told his friends and those who asked him that he opposed the plan for the natural gas line but made no public statement.

Approve | Neutral | Disapprove

9. If he publicly stated that he opposed the plan for the natural gas line.

Approve | Neutral | Disapprove

10. If he formed a committee to oppose the plan.

Approve | Neutral | Disapprove

11. If he refused to talk to or associate with anyone who was in favor of the natural gas line plan.

Approve | Neutral | Disapprove

Which of the above actions do you think ______________________________ would be most likely to take in this situation? You may choose any of the 11 actions listed above or an action which you feel is somewhere between two of them by making a mark on the line below. The numbers on the line are the same as those of the actions above.

METRIC 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11

The parents of several school age children in Center Point have proposed that the local grade school be closed and the children be sent to a larger school in another community.

I. How would you feel toward ______________________ if he did each of the following in response to this situation. (Indicate how you would feel toward him by placing a mark through the line below each action. The distance from either end of the line indicates how strongly you approve or disapprove of him for taking that action.) Please keep in mind at all times the person whom you are considering.

1. If he refused to talk to or associate with anyone who opposed the closing of the school.

Approve Disapprove
Neutral

2. If he formed a committee to support the closing of the school.

Approve Disapprove
Neutral

3. If he publicly stated, as in a speech to a local organization, that he supported the closing of the school.

Approve Disapprove
Neutral

4. If he told his friends and those who asked him that he supported closing the school but made no public statement.

Approve Disapprove
Neutral

5. If he privately favored closing the school but spoke of his support only in private and confidential conversation with his closest friends.

Approve Disapprove
Neutral

6. If he remained neutral.

Approve Disapprove
Neutral

7. If he privately opposed closing the school but spoke of his opposition only in private and confidential conversation with his closest friends.

Approve Disapprove
Neutral

8. If he told his friends and those who asked him that he opposed closing the school but made no public statement.

Approve Disapprove
Neutral

9. If he publicly stated that he opposed closing the school.

Approve Disapprove
Neutral

10. If he formed a committee to oppose closing the school.

Approve Disapprove
Neutral

11. If he refused to talk to or associate with anyone who favored closing the school.

Approve Disapprove
Neutral

II. Which of the above actions do you think ______________________ would take in the above situation? You may choose any of the 11 actions listed above or an action which you feel is somewhere between two of them by making a mark on the line below. The numbers on the line are the same as those of the actions above.

METRIC 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 1

Center Point has scheduled its annual fish fry. It is not two weeks away and the co-operation of everyone in the community has been asked for in the hope that the fish fry will be a bigger success than ever before.

How would you feel toward ______________________________ if he did each of the following in response to this issue? Please indicate how you would feel toward him by making a mark through the line below each action. How strongly you approve or disapprove will be shown by how close to or far away from the word "approve" and "disapprove" you make your mark. Please keep in mind at all times the person whom you are considering on this page.

1. If he refused to talk to or associate with anyone who did not take part in the preparations for the fish fry.

Approve ________________________ Disapprove
Neutral

2. If he formed a committee to promote community-wide participation in preparing for the fish fry.

Approve ________________________ Disapprove
Neutral

3. If he publicly stated, as in a speech to a local organization, that he thought everyone should help in preparing for the fish fry.

Approve ________________________ Disapprove
Neutral

4. If he told his friends and those who asked him that he supported community-wide participation in preparing for the fish fry.

Approve ________________________ Disapprove
Neutral

5. If he privately supported the plea for community-wide help with the fish fry but spoke of his support only in private and confidential conversation with his closest friends.

Approve ________________________ Disapprove
Neutral

6. If he remained neutral.

Approve ________________________ Disapprove
Neutral

7. If he privately opposed the request for community-wide help with the fish fry but spoke of his opposition only in private and confidential conversation with his closest friends.

Approve ________________________ Disapprove
Neutral

8. If he told his friends and those who asked him that he opposed the request for community-wide help with the preparations for the fish fry.

Approve ________________________ Disapprove
Neutral

9. If he publicly stated that he opposed the request for community-wide help with the preparations for the fish fry.

Approve ________________________ Disapprove
Neutral

10. If he formed a committee to oppose the request for the community-wide help.

Approve ________________________ Disapprove
Neutral

11. If he refused to talk to or associate with anyone who did not take part in the preparations for the fish fry.

Approve ________________________ Disapprove
Neutral

What action do you think ______________________________ would be most likely to take in this situation? You may choose any of the 11 actions listed above or an action which you feel is somewhere between two of them by making a mark on the line below.

METRIC 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

The town board has before it a plan for constructing sidewalks in Center Point. How would you feel toward ______________________ if he did each of the following in response to this issue? Please indicate how you would feel toward him by making a mark through the line below each action. How strongly you approve or disapprove will be shown by how close to or far away from the words "approve" and "disapprove" you make your mark. Please keep in mind at all times the person whom you are considering on this page.

1. If he refused to talk to or associate with anyone who opposed the plan for constructing the sidewalks.

Approve Disapprove

Neutral

2. If he formed a committee to support construction of sidewalks.

Approve Disapprove

Neutral

3. If he publicly stated, as in a speech to a local organization, that he favored construction of sidewalks in Center Point.

Approve Disapprove

Neutral

4. If he told his friends and those who asked him that he favored the plan for sidewalks but made no public statement.

Approve Disapprove

Neutral

5. If he privately supported the plan for the sidewalks but spoke of this support only in private and confidential conversation with his closest friends.

Approve Disapprove

Neutral

6. If he remained neutral.

Approve Disapprove

Neutral

7. If he privately opposed the construction of sidewalks but spoke of this opposition only in private and confidential conversation with his closest friends.

Approve Disapprove

Neutral

8. If he told his friends and those who asked him that he opposed the construction of the sidewalks but made no public statement.

Approve Disapprove

Neutral

9. If he publicly stated that he opposed the construction of the sidewalks.

Approve Disapprove

Neutral

10. If he formed a committee to oppose construction of the sidewalks.

Approve Disapprove

Neutral

11. If he refused to talk to or associate with anyone who favored construction of the sidewalks.

Approve Disapprove

Neutral

What action do you think ______________________ would be most likely to take in this situation? You may choose any of the 11 actions listed above or an action which you feel is somewhere between two of them by making a mark on the line below. The numbers on the line are the same as those of the actions above.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

As a part of a nation-wide movement to bring together the Methodist and EUB churches and because some people in the town think the town is too small to support two churches each with its own minister, it has been decided that the two churches in Center Point should be served for the time being by one minister and that the congregations eventually be united.

How would you feel toward ____________________ if he did each of the following in response to this situation? Please indicate how you would feel toward him by making a mark through the line below each action. How strongly you approve or disapprove will be shown by how close to or far away from the words "approve" and "disapprove" you make your mark. Please keep in mind at all times the person whom you are considering on this page.

1. If he refused to talk to or associate with anyone who opposed the plan to merge the two churches.

   Approve ______________________ Disapprove
   Neutral

2. If he formed a committee to support the merging of the two churches.

   Approve ______________________ Disapprove
   Neutral

3. If he publicly stated, as in a speech to a local organization that he favored the plan to join the churches together.

   Approve ______________________ Disapprove
   Neutral

4. If he told his friends and those who asked him that he supported the plan to merge the churches but made no public statement.

   Approve ______________________ Disapprove
   Neutral

5. If he privately supported the move to unite the two churches but spoke of his support only in private and confidential conversations with his closest friends.

   Approve ______________________ Disapprove
   Neutral

6. If he remained neutral.

   Approve ______________________ Disapprove
   Neutral

7. If he privately opposed the move to unite the two churches but spoke of his opposition only in private and confidential conversations with his closest friends.

   Approve ______________________ Disapprove
   Neutral

8. If he told his friends and those who asked him that he opposed the merging of the churches but made no public statement.

   Approve ______________________ Disapprove
   Neutral

9. If he publicly stated that he opposed uniting the two churches.

   Approve ______________________ Disapprove
   Neutral

10. If he formed a committee to oppose the merging of the two churches.

    Approve ______________________ Disapprove
    Neutral

11. If he refused to talk to or associate with anyone who favored the plan to merge the two churches.

    Approve ______________________ Disapprove
    Neutral

What action do you think ________________________ would be most likely to take in this situation? You may choose any of these actions or an action which you feel is somewhere between two of them by making a mark on the line below. The numbers on the line are the same as those of the actions above.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

Some people in Center Point have felt for several years that the town should have its own water system. It has been proposed that Center Point obtain a federal loan to finance the water system.

How would you feel toward ______________________________ if he did each of the following in response to this situation? Please indicate how you would feel toward him by making a mark through the line below each action. How strongly you approve or disapprove will be shown by how close to or far from the words "approve" and "disapprove" you make your mark. Please keep in mind at all times the person whom you are considering on this page.

1. If he refused to talk to or associate with anyone who opposed obtaining federal financing for the water system.

   Approve Disapprove

   Neutral

2. If he formed a committee to support the federal financing for the project.

   Approve Disapprove

   Neutral

3. If he publicly stated, as in a speech to a local organization, that he favored federal financing for the project.

   Approve Disapprove

   Neutral

4. If he told his friends and those who asked him that he favored federal financing for the project but made no public statement.

   Approve Disapprove

   Neutral

5. If he privately supported the federal financing but spoke of this support only in private and confidential conversation with his closest friends.

   Approve Disapprove

   Neutral

6. If he remained neutral.

   Approve Disapprove

   Neutral

7. If he privately opposed the recommendation but spoke of this opposition only in private and confidential conversation with his closest friends.

   Approve Disapprove

   Neutral

8. If he told his friends and those who asked him that he opposed federal financing for the project but made no public statement.

   Approve Disapprove

   Neutral

9. If he publicly stated that he opposed federal financing for the project.

   Approve Disapprove

   Neutral

10. If he formed a committee to oppose federal financing for the water project.

    Approve Disapprove

    Neutral

11. If he refused to talk to or associate with anyone who favored obtaining federal financing for the water project.

    Approve Disapprove

    Neutral

What action do you think ______________________________ would be most likely to take in this situation? You may choose any of the 11 actions listed above or an action which you feel is somewhere between two of them by making a mark on the line below.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

The town board has before it a plan which would bring a natural gas line into Center Point. A vote will be taken on the plan at the board's next meeting. *

1. List between three and six people ____________________ would be most likely to talk to about this issue. List the names in order of whom you think he would be most likely to see first down to the person on your list he would be least likely to talk to.

2. List between three and six people ____________________ would be most likely to talk to about this issue. List the names in order of whom you think he would be most likely to see first down to the person on your list he would be least likely to talk to.

The parents of several school age children in Center Point have introduced at a town board meeting a recommendation that the local grade school be closed and the children be sent to a larger school in another community.

1. List between three and six people ____________________ would be most likely to talk to about this issue. List the names in order of whom you think he would be most likely to see first down to the person on your list he would be least likely to talk to.

2. List between three and six people ____________________ would be most likely to talk to about this issue. List the names in order of whom you think he would be most likely to see first down to the person on your list he would be least likely to talk to.

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2. List between three and six people ______________________ would be most likely to talk to about this issue. List the names in order of whom you think he would be most likely to see first down to the person on your list he would be least likely to talk to.

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1. List between three and six people ____________________ would be most likely to talk to about this issue. List the names in order of whom you think he would be most likely to see first down to the person on your list he would be least likely to talk to.

2. List between three and six people ____________________ would be most likely to talk to about this issue. List the names in order of whom you think he would be most likely to see first down to the person on your list he would be least likely to talk to.

Center Point has scheduled its annual fish fry. It is now two weeks away and the co-operation of everyone in the community has been asked for in the hope that it will be a bigger success than ever before.

1. List between three and six people ______________________ would be most likely to talk to about this issue. Please list the names in order, listing first the person he would be most likely to see and listing last the person on your list he would be least likely to see.

1. ______________________ 4. ______________________

2. ______________________ 5. ______________________

3. ______________________ 6. ______________________

2. List between three and six people ______________________ would be most likely to talk to about this issue. Please list the names in order, listing first the person he would be most likely to see and listing last the person on your list he would be least likely to see.

1. ______________________ 4. ______________________

2. ______________________ 5. ______________________

3. ______________________ 6. ______________________

As a part of a nation-wide movement to bring together the Methodist and EUB churches and becuase some people in the town think the town is too small to support two churches each with its own minister it has been decided that the two churches in Center Point should be served for the time being by one minister and that the congregations eventually be united.

1. List between three and six people ______________________ would be most likely to talk to about this issue. Please list the names in order, listing first the person he would be most likely to see and listing last the person on your list he would be least likely to see.

1. ______________________ 4. ______________________

2. ______________________ 5. ______________________

3. ______________________ 6. ______________________

2. List between three and six people ______________________ would be most likely to talk to about this issue. Please list the names in order, listing first the person he would be most likely to see and listing last the person on your list he would be least likely to see.

1. ______________________ 4. ______________________

2. ______________________ 5. ______________________

3. ______________________ 6. ______________________

Some people in Center Point have felt for several years that the town should have its own water system. It has been proposed that Center Point obtain a federal loan to finance the water system.

1. List between three and six people ______________________ would be most likely to talk to about this issue. Please list the names in order listing first the person he would be most likely to see and listing last the person on your list you think he would be least likely to see.

1. ______________________ 4. ______________________

2. ______________________ 5. ______________________

3. ______________________ 6. ______________________

2. List between three and six people ______________________ would be most likely to talk to about this issue. Please list the names in order, listing first the person he would be most likely to see and listing last the person on your list he would be least likely to see.

1. ______________________ 4. ______________________

2. ______________________ 5. ______________________

3. ______________________ 6. ______________________

The town board has before it a plan for constructing sidewalks in Center Point.

1. List between three and six people ______________________ would be most likely to talk to about this issue. Please list the names in order, listing first the person he would be most likely to see and listing last the person on your list he would be least likely to see.

1. ______________________ 4. ______________________

2. ______________________ 5. ______________________

3. ______________________ 6. ______________________

2. List between three and six people ______________________ would be most likely to talk to about this issue. Please list the names in order, listing first the person he would be most likely to see and listing last the person on your list he would be least likely to see.

1. ______________________ 4. ______________________

2. ______________________ 5. ______________________

3. ______________________ 6. ______________________

APPENDIX L

AGGREGATE SOCIOMATRIX FOR SCHOOL IMPROVEMENT

Rank		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	
	Sub-ject	15	10	6	19	3	16	18	2	1	14	8	17	5	7	13	13	9	4	12	Total
1	8	37	11	11	14	22	23	23	16	27	19	0	23	19	16	22	14	10	15	10	332
2	2	11	23	14	9	3	0	17	0	2	19	8	14	9	1	11	13	2	0	16	172
3	7	12	0	0	9	4	27	11	5	7	8	11	12	7	0	4	12	13	1	4	147
4	10	14	0	30	9	16	2	3	23	5	6	10	1	5	4	6	0	0	1	0	135
5	19	6	10	11	0	0	2	5	9	10	9	9	11	5	8	19	3	0	1	1	119
6	11	3	3	8	15	9	2	5	7	6	4	13	8	6	7	0	3	1	4	7	111
7	9	8	3	0	3	1	12	2	1	7	9	12	5	2	16	2	1	3	22	0	109
8	6	4	30	0	7	7	3	19	17	3	3	3	0	2	0	3	0	0	0	2	103
9	3	5	16	11	7	0	4	3	3	11	3	4	5	16	3	1	2	0	0	0	94
10	5	0	10	5	7	17	0	3	1	1	1	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	49
11	16	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	3	5	1	0	5	0	0	6	16	0	41
12	4	5	1	0	0	0	13	1	0	0	0	5	3	1	0	1	0	10	0	0	40
13	32	1	2	6	7	8	0	0	0	3	0	4	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	34
14	14	7	0	1	0	2	1	0	2	1	0	1	0	1	8	0	4	2	0	2	32
15	17	0	0	0	8	3	3	0	3	1	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	1	0	0	23
16	22	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	2	4	0	13	0	0	23
17	41	0	0	5	1	3	0	0	2	3	0	0	0	1	4	0	0	0	0	3	22
18	18	1	0	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	3	6	5	0	0	21
19	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	16	0	0	0	17
Total		115	109	105	96	95	93	93	90	90	88	87	84	79	77	76	74	66	62	45	

APPENDIX M

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Critique of the questions:
   a. Question 5: This question just skims the surface of an attitude towards each officer. It fails to recognize that, in many cases, the sheriff and the state police cooperate; calling one of them will bring out both of them.

   b. Questions 6 through 13: The ten-rung ladder which I adopted to anchor the responses did not work and was discarded mid-way through my interviewing. There were several reasons for its alteration into a three-response instrument. First, I may have been unclear and inconsistent in the instructions on how to answer the questions. Second, if I were precise in my explanation, the questions still failed to measure differences in intensity in feeling towards all all people and, thus, the responses were non-comparable from respondent to respondent.

   c. Questions 14 and 15: These questions were too long and complicated, tending to confuse the respondent. There were two questions implicit in each: would the officer exhibit favoritism and at what point would he do so. At no time should a question be two-fold in its nature. Respondents will answer one question or the other, but can not comprehend the totality.

   d. Questions 16 through 29: These questions did very well in measuring the attitudes towards each of the officers. It is of importance in asking questions of this type that the respondent not be allowed time to ponder the question. If he is allowed to do so, his response changes from his immediate attitude to what he thinks he should say.

   e. Question 27: This question was a little misleading because there is actually a difference in function between the two officers. However, here I have clouded over this difference when I should have attempted to control for it some way or another.

   f. Questions 42 trhough 45: These questions have implicit in them two concepts which are quite different in meaning.

   g. Questions 30 through 50: I did not make economical use of my twenty value questions. Too many of them elicited the same response, yet included several different shades of attitudes.

2. Scoring system for law enforcement values:

Depersonal law enforcement was defined operationally as disagree answers to questions 30, 31, 32, 33, 35, 36, 38, 41, 42, and 43 and agree answers to questions 40, 44, 45, 46, 47, 49, and 50. Personal law enforcement was defined by agree answers to the set 30...43 and by disagree answers to the set 40...50. Questions 34, 37, 39, and 48 were not indicators of a particular type, but contituted the definitions of both.

The scoring went as follows: all answers which were in line with my operational definition of depersonal law enforcement were scored as plus one. All answers which were in line with my operational definition of personal law enforcement were scored as minus one. No response responses were not scored; neither were the four questions which did not differentiate between concepts. The scores on each question were then added to determine a value score for each respondent.

3. The questionnaire itself: (see the next four pages)

1. Name of respondent ______________________________.

2. City
   1- Ashboro-Centerpoint
   2-Bowling Green
   3-Cory
   4-Other

3. How well do you know the sheriff?
   1-very well
   2-well
   3-some
   4-not well
   5-not at all

4. How well do you know a state policeman?
   1-very well
   2-well
   3-some
   4-not well
   5-not at all

5. Whom would you contact if you saw a crime being committed?
   1-sheriff
   2-state police
   3-other
   4-no one

I am now going to deal with four personal qualities--honesty, ability, interest in serving the public, and dependability. In front of you, you see a ladder with ten steps on it, numbered from one at the tope to ten at the bottom. Imagine that the top step is the greates amount of these qualities any person could have. And imagine that the bottom step is the least amount any person could have. Now tell me where the sheriff and where the state policemen you know would rank on the ladder for each of these qualities. If you know none, rank them according to what you have heard or what you think.

Where would you rank the state policemen?
6. For interest in serving the public? 1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,10
7. For honesty? 1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,10
8. For ability? 1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,10
9. For dependability? 1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,10

Where would you rank the sheriff?
10. For interest in serving the public? 1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,10
11. For honesty? 1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,10
12. For ability? 1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9.10
13. For dependability? 1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,10

14. How well would you have to know the sheriff before it would make a difference in the way he treated you if you were apprehended by him in the act of committing some minor crime.

1-same treatment no matter how well
2-very well
3-well
4-some
5-not well
6-not at all

15. How well would you have to know a state policeman before it would make a difference in the way he treated you if you were apprehended by him in the act of committing some minor crime?

1-same treatment no matter how well
2-very well
3-well
4-some
5-not well
6-not at all

Please try to picture the following situation in your mind. You are speeding on highway 46 and are pulled over by an officer. Now I want you to tell me which of the officers would be least likely to give you a ticket in each of the following situations.

16. If you were a personal friend of his?
1-same with both
2-sheriff
3-state policeman

17. If he knew you were an important political figure?
1-same with both
2-sheriff
3-state policeman

18. If he knew you were an important businessman?
1-same with both
2-sheriff
3-state policeman

19. If he knew you were an important community leader?
1-same with both
2-sheriff
3-state policeman

20. If he knew you were a regular church-goer?
1-same with both
2-sheriff
3-state policeman

21. If he knew your family well?
1-same with both
2-sheriff
3-state policeman

22. If he knew you were from one of the best families?
1-same with both
2-sheriff
3-state policeman

23. If he did not know you and you were from outside the area?
1-same with both
2-sheriff
3-state policeman

24. If the crime were more serious than a traffic violation would you have to change the above answers generally?
1-no

2-more disparity between the two
3-less disparity between the two

25. How do the duties of the sheriff today compare with those of twenty-five years ago.
1-same
2-less today
3-more today
4-no response

26. How do the duties of the state police today compare with those twenty-five years ago?
1-same
2-less today
3-more today
4-no response

27. Which of the two is best able to handle today's problems in Clay County?
1-sheriff
2-state police
3-both the same
4-neither

28. How are the problems in Clay County today different from those here twenty-five years ago?
1-same
2-less today
3-more today
4-no response

29. How does the effieciency of the sheriff compare with that of twenty-five years ago?
1-same
2-less today
3-more today

The following statements should be answered by either agree or disagree. As before, there are no correct answers, so please try to answer every one of them as frankly as possible.

1-agree
2-disagree
3-no response

The following persons should be treated better than others if arrested:

30. Personal friend
31. Neighbor
32. Best-family member
33. Rural folk
34. Urban people
35. Residents of the area
36. Community leaders
37. Political leaders
38. Church goers

Answer agree or disagree to each of the following statements:

39. Flexibility in enforcing the law is essential
40. Consideration of circumstances involved make law flexible
41. Special treatment of certain persons makes law flexible
42. A benefit of local officers is that they give personal treatment
43. A benefit of elected officers is that they must give personal treatment

44. A benefit of non-local police is their impartiality
45. A benefit of non-elected police is their impartiality
46. Special treatment of offenders interferes with the efficiency of law enforcement officers
47. Impartiality is essential to good law enforcement
48. Law offenders should be treated as individuals
49. The job of the policeman is to enforce the law and leave the decision as to who should or should not be punished and how much punishment there should be to a judge
50. In order to expect people to obey the law, all must be treated equally under it

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